

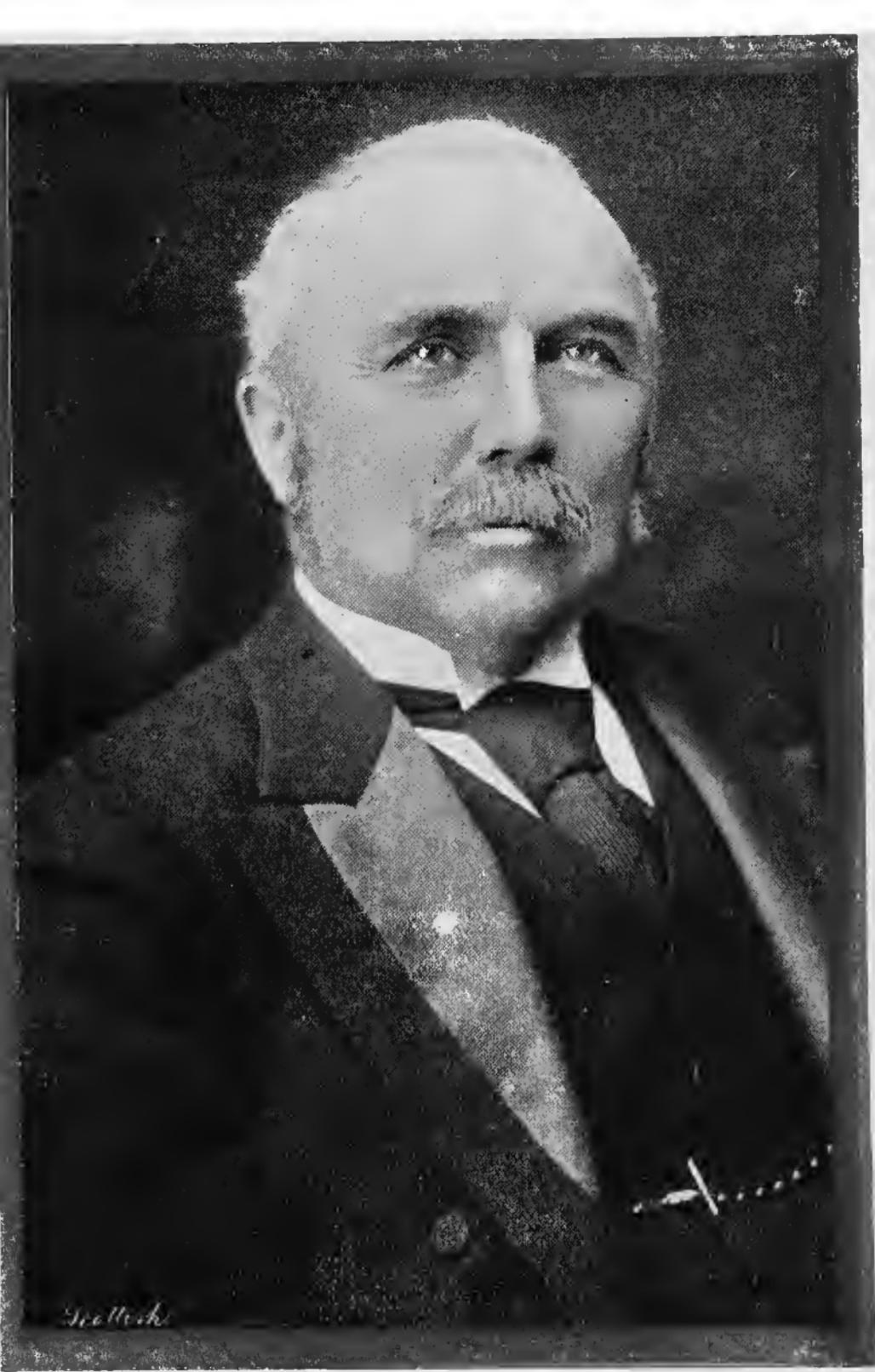
The Model Member

SIR HENRY CAMPSELL-BANNERMAN.

FORTY YEARS REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE STIRLING BURGH.

BY

J. B. MACKIE, F.J.I.



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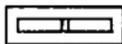
SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

Forty Years Representative of the Stirling Burghs.

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AUTHOR OF "LIFE AND WORK OF DUNCAN M'LAREN, M.P.,"
"MODERN JOURNALISM," &c.



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SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

For an enduring and a happy connection between a Member of Parliament and his constituents a genuine political sympathy is essential. To agreement in political conviction must be added on the part of the Member devotion to the interests of his constituents, fidelity and efficiency in the discharge of his Parliamentary duties, a placable, reasonable temper that does not readily give or take offence, that smooths away misunderstandings and prevents alienations. When these qualities are prominent in the character and conduct of the political steward, confidence and pride are easy, because natural, for those whom he serves, and there is extended to him a generous toleration which a man under suspicion, or conscious of estrangement, can never enjoy. The conditions of a happy political union were conspicuously present during the whole period of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's connection with the Stirling Burghs, and more especially with Dunfermline, which it is the object of the writer to describe.

Yet, at the outset, the prospect of a successful political wooing and of an enduring political union was not bright. When Mr. Henry Campbell made his advent as a candidate for the representation of the seat in 1868 in succession to

Mr. Laurence Oliphant, who had suddenly, and then, in the public estimation, unaccountably, withdrawn from Parliamentary and public life, many politicians who had hitherto cherished anti-democratic sentiments had changed their tune, and in anticipation of the impending enfranchisement of a large section of the industrial classes, were effusively proclaiming themselves friends of the working men. Politicians hitherto professed Tories or Conservatives assumed the title of Liberal Conservatives.

When, without the solicitude of any organisation, Mr. Henry Campbell made his introduction to the Stirling Burghs, he was not free from suspicion on the ground that he might prove to be a Tory in disguise. It was known he had come out of a Tory "nest." His father, Sir James Campbell, was the most prominent champion of Conservatism in Glasgow. His elder brother, Mr. James A. Campbell, was already known as a devoted upholder of the Established Church, and an active, zealous worker for the promotion of Conservatism in the Second City of the Empire and in the West of Scotland. His immediate family environment was Conservative in its influence; and how an Advanced Liberal—not merely a professed Liberal-Conservative, or a temporising, anti-democratic Whig, but a politician founding his creed on equality of rights and equality of opportunity, advocating the doctrine of promotion by merit, and opposed to class privilege in every department of public service—could emerge from such a political school puzzled the local political observers.

They did not know or realise that in the home upbringing of the future Prime Minister he was taught to reverence conscience as king—that intensity of party devo-

tion was not allowed to overpower or restrain individual conviction, and that personal responsibility for belief was recognised as a sacred duty. Alongside of this guardianship of freedom of conscience and judgment was practised a beautiful family toleration that maintained unbroken affection between Sir James and his brother and partner, Mr. William, whose democratic sympathies and views of spiritual independence led him to cast in his lot with the Disruption leaders, taking himself and his side of the family into the Free Church, of which they became zealous advocates and generous supporters. And so it came to pass that while James A. Campbell, the elder son and heir of the knight, figured in the national history as one of the most devoted and conspicuous of laymen who championed the Establishment principle and Conservative views, James, the elder son of William of Tillichewan, was as prominent a Free Churchman in the ecclesiastical sphere as James of Stracathro was as a State Churchman, and as whole-hearted and as unflinching in his Liberalism as his younger cousin, Henry, proved himself to be.

The democratic sympathies of Henry were awakened by his association with sons of other outstanding and prosperous Glasgow citizens who received their education at the High School and at the University. The testimonies of his playmates and fellow students offered in later years concur in representing him as a generous-minded youth, a general favourite on account of the frankness and geniality of his manners, his courage and dexterity in the play-field, his capacity and success as a learner, and his freedom from all boastfulness and arrogance, in spite of his leadership and his social position. At Cambridge his Liberal sentiments were gradually strengthened by his companionships and

matured and confirmed by his studies. His responsiveness to Liberalising influences must have been noted with keen disappointment, not to say vexation, by his father, but the growing difference in political views caused no diminution of parental affection for, and pride in, the son who had maintained the family honour in two famous seats of learning, and no weakening of the filial reverence due to a devoted and religious-minded parent.

In the middle of last century few firms were held in higher respect in Glasgow than J. & W. Campbell. The handsome pile of buildings they erected in Ingram Street was regarded with local pride as evidence not only of the prosperity of an individual business house, but of the increasing growth of the world-wide trade of the city. At this time local patriotism was inspiringly active. Among all classes a tendency to boast of the greatness of the Second City of the Empire was cherished; and under the influence of the general determination to maintain this pride of place, the heads of large business concerns keenly interested themselves in all kinds of civic enterprise. Their capacity for administration as well as their devotion to the public interest was displayed in their membership of the Trades House; in their management of the Clyde Trust, ever deepening the channel of the river, extending its wharves and enlarging its revenues; in their projection of various charitable and educational institutions; in the transference of the University from its old and unsavoury quarters to the breezy heights of Gilmorehill, and to its equipment in a style worthy of the Metropolis of the West; in the zealous direction of church enterprise and policy; also in strictly municipal service, in which what were then considered gigantic pioneer schemes of water supply, park acquisitions,

and city improvements by the wholesale demolition of slums, and the construction of spacious streets, were devised and carried out. In his youth and early manhood Henry Campbell must have been brought into close contact with this vigorous civic life, and had his mind quickened and broadened by their influence. For his father, Sir James Campbell, as a Lord Provost of the city, was one of the mainsprings of these departures, and his intimate friends, though differing from him and among themselves on political and religious questions, were all as jealous as himself of the maintenance of the good name of Glasgow and as zealous for the advancement of its greatness.

A most impressive proof at once of the warmth of personal attachment and appreciation which Sir James' character and services excited was afforded when, after his son's success as the Liberal candidate for the Stirling Burghs, a company of veteran city fathers entertained the young member to a complimentary dinner in the Western Club. The company included representatives of literature and law, commerce and religion, several hoary-headed ex-Lord Provosts, some of them Whigs and some Tories, all of them men of outstanding local fame and anxious to cheer the soul of the aged parent by hearty and hopeful congratulations on the auspicious start his son had made in political life. The absence from the gathering of Dr. Harry Rainy, one of the Medical Professors of the University, and the father of the Robert Rainy who was destined to figure in the years to come as the foremost Church leader in Scotland, was greatly regretted by the saintly old man himself, as well as by his aged friends, who held him in profound reverence. The father of the future Principal was known to be in feeble health, and evidently approaching the close

of his life. Ex-Lord Provost Galbraith, who brought from him a message of assurance of warmest sympathy with the object of the demonstration, remarked that as he had stood that afternoon by the bedside of his dear friend, he had felt very near the Kingdom of Heaven. The Campbell and Rainy families had long lived in close friendship, and in later days the Liberal leader in the company of friends was wont fondly to recall his early admiration for Robert Rainy, who was ten years his senior, and to confess that the influence of the family association with the Rainys had affected his own religious life. The spell of veneration for the pure-minded, tender-hearted friend of his parents, and of grateful appreciation of the signal honour paid him for his father's sake, was upon him when he made his modest acknowledgment of the felicitations of the veterans, and so confirmed their estimate of him as a lad of grace, discretion and ability, carrying an old head on young shoulders.

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CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST CANDIDATURE.

The shadow of a coming general election under an extended franchise was upon the country when Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, yielding to the spiritual influence of Thomas Lake Harris, the head of a religious community near Lake Erie, suddenly abandoned the public service for which he seemed to have special aptitude, and left the Stirling Burghs unrepresented in Parliament. The unexpected vacancy was assigned by the Whig official wire-pullers to Mr. John Ramsay of Kildalton, a wealthy Islay distiller, and an influential Glasgow citizen, who had won for himself high respect by his business integrity, his services in connection with the Chamber of Commerce, his active interest in benevolent and religious enterprises, and by his generous concern for the welfare and good name of the community. In 1865 he stood as one of three candidates for the two seats of Glasgow, offering his services as a moderate Liberal, and described in the Poll Book a Liberal Conservative. Though he had been defeated he had made a favourable impression upon his fellow citizens by the evidence he gave of fitness for Parliamentary work, having polled 5832 against 6713 votes recorded for the old Whig member, Robert Dalgleish, and 8171 for William Graham, a sympathiser with, and eloquent advocate of, more progressive ideas. Since then, however, he had rendered valuable public service by the zeal and efficiency with which he had acted as a member of the National Education Commission, appointed by Lord Advocate Moncrieff, and as he had become more closely identified with the Whig party, his candidature for the Stirling Burghs

received official countenance and support. Further, as a Free Churchman, interesting himself in the Church Union movement, he had many influential friends among the laymen of the Free and the United Free Churches in Glasgow, and many leading men in both communions warmly recommended him to the ministers of the two negotiating Churches in the five burghs—Stirling, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, Culross and South Queensferry--which form the constituency. To the official party and ecclesiastical support thus accorded to him were added the commendations of both the Whig and the Independent Liberal or Dissenting Press. Hence, it was generally assumed that he would secure the seat without difficulty, if not without a contest.

Unexpectedly, Mr. Henry Campbell, then in his 32nd year, swooped down upon the constituency. Hitherto he had taken no part in public life. At the close of his University training he had entered the business establishment of the family, and it was assumed that the direction of its enterprises, with their world-wide ramifications, in association with his elder brother and his cousin, Mr. James Campbell of Tillichewan, would be the chief work of his life. But though he had proved a capable man of business, and though he found pleasure in his association alike with the senior and junior members of the large staff, identifying himself closely with all their concerns, bearing himself as a sympathetic colleague rather than as a master, and confirming their appreciation of him by his enthusiasm as an officer of the Volunteer Company connected with the firm, his ambition lay in the field of political service. Accordingly, when the Stirling Burghs vacancy was announced he readily yielded to the suggestion of Glasgow friends acquainted with, and gratified by, the

tendency of his political views towards Advanced Liberalism, to make an effort to win his political spurs. And so, without any local call, he made his appearance in the Burghs with a shrewd Glasgow lawyer, Mr. Gordon Smith, as his political agent, and addressed his appeal to "the electors and non-electors."

The Dunfermline people of those days, non-electors as well as electors, were keen students of politics and ardent reformers. They cherished a strong feeling of independence, and they were proudly conscious of their intelligence. The majority could boast of descent, on the ecclesiastical side, from Secession, Relief, and Disruption fathers, and on the political, from Friends of the People, Chartists, Free Traders, and Franchise Reformers. Since 1832 they had unflinchingly supported the cause of peace, retrenchment and reform; and the only difference between them was whether they could be better served by official or strictly party representatives or by independent champions of political progress. Their first member under the Reform Act had been Lord Dalmeny, the father of the present Earl of Rosebery; and succeeding generations of ardent political students in that city had entertained themselves with stories of the encounter of wits which took place when his Lordship as a Ministerialist was confronted by his Dunfermline masters. Mr. Alexander Stewart in his interesting *Reminiscences* presents a lively picture of the local heroes and their achievements. He says:—

"I remember as if it had been yesterday, a meeting held in the Guildhall to hear Lord Dalmeny (father of the present Earl of Rosebery) give an account of his stewardship as the Parliamentary representative for the burghs. He was then a very young man, inexperienced, and not over

three or four and twenty years of age. He was about the middle height, perhaps under, straight, and very well made, with a finely formed head, and a most gentlemanly bearing. He wore, I remember, a dark blue frock-coat buttoned, and he looked every inch of him one of Nature's nobility. It must have been a sore trial to him, a young Whig, to appear in Dunfermline and give an account of his political doings before men who were much older, and far abler and more experienced in the field of politics than himself—before men who had made this subject a study from youth upwards, and who had been veterans in many political fights. At that meeting James Inglis and Thomas Morrison, both of them advanced Radicals, gave his Lordship a warming, as they say in England. Mr. Morrison made a fierce onslaught upon his Parliamentary shortcomings. I stood close to the platform, and watched the fray. On the whole, his Lordship bore his castigation pretty well, but now and again he could not conceal his emotion, and winced under the storm of scathing invective hurled upon him by Mr. Morrison. But when Mr. James Inglis took him to task, the colour left his Lordship's face. Mr. Inglis' questions and remarks were so dreadfully sarcastic, so incisive, and withal so quietly and coolly put, that it was a most severe trial for any young man to pass through. Many things have happened since then, and the silent grave has long covered the three principals who figured at that political 'passage of arms.' It is so long since, that I have forgotten all the *pros* and the *cons* of that eventful meeting, but I shall ever remember two of the questions put to Lord Dalmeny by Mr. Inglis. They were something to the following effect:—
 'Did not your Lordship support the vote for £70,000 to build and repair stables for the horses of Her Majesty?'

The answer was, 'Yes, I did.' 'Did not your Lordship vote against a certain application which was made to Parliament for £30,000 for educational purposes?' His Lordship admitted that he did. Mr. Inglis required to say scarcely anything more on these points, but just to put the questions and answers in juxtaposition, and leave his audience to judge for themselves."

It can therefore be easily understood that the Dunfermline electors did not readily submit to leadership which savoured of dictation; and many of the disciples and descendants of the political warriors of earlier times saw in the desire of the respectable old Whigs and of the Dissenting clergy to foist on the constituency a Glasgow merchant past his prime, an attempt to deprive them of their right to a freedom of choice.

As already indicated, they did not, as men in earnest about legislative reforms on a democratic basis, take readily to the son of a prominent Glasgow Tory and Churchman, who had in 1837, and again in 1841, stood as an anti-reform candidate in the Western Metropolis. Their prejudice against him softened appreciably when they heard from his astute Glasgow agent of his outstanding academic record. They were willing to see in his University distinctions—he was the winner of the Cowan gold medal* for the best examination in Greek at Glasgow University, a senior optime in mathematics, and a classical honours man at Cambridge—the promise of capacity for a Parliamentary career that might

* Professor George G. Ramsay, in preparing at a later date the list of Cowan medallists from the University records, says in his prefatory note—"These medals are amongst the most coveted and important distinctions which the University has to give, and many of their winners have not only been the ablest classical scholars of their time, but have added to the fame of their Alma Mater in every sphere of public and private life."

bring credit to the constituency at Westminster and in the country. The doubting, suspicious temper was, however, completely dissipated when in his first opening speech he attached himself without hesitation or qualification to the whole Radical creed. He declared himself in favour of household suffrage in the counties as well as in the burghs, and for the protection of the independence of the voter he advocated the adoption of the ballot. He pleaded for a national and compulsory system of education, such as the leaders of political thought in Dunfermline had repeatedly in public meetings claimed as a necessity for the well-being and stability of the State. The principle of religious equality which the Voluntaries of the city had constantly kept in the forefront of their political creed as a sacred bequest from faithful testifying fathers he professed not merely as a pious opinion but as a practical living doctrine pointing to disestablishment. He proposed that the system of representative self-government enjoyed in the cities should be extended to the counties along with the franchise for the householders. He fearlessly ranged himself on the side of the foremost social reformers by urging that the people in their different localities should be invested with the direct control of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquor. And further, he numbered himself among the pioneers of land law reform by pledging himself to vote for the abolition of the system of entail and primogeniture, and for a simplified form of land transfer.

And while the most exacting of the Radical critics were forced to admit that the young political probationer was "soond in the fundamentals," they were delighted with his manner as well as with matter. Oratorically the speech proved a most cheering success. Compared with the con-

versational style and halting utterances of Mr. Ramsay, it was a conspicuous platform triumph. It was delivered without notes and with a fluency worthy of a practised Parliamentary speaker; and the combination of frankness and astuteness the candidate displayed in his "heckling" experiences strengthened the favourable impression of his auditors, many of whom resented the nomination of Mr. Ramsay as political and ecclesiastical patronage and dictation.

Under the leadership of many trusted political leaders, including veterans like ex-Provost Robertson, a life-long reformer and local political chief, and Mr. Thomas Morrison of Chartist fame, the free and independent electors, and in still larger numbers, and, if possible, with still greater enthusiasm, the non-electors expecting enfranchisement within a few months under Mr. Disraeli's Ten Minutes Bill, converted by Liberal amendments into a burgh household suffrage measure, quickly rallied to the Campbell standard. The supporters of Mr. Ramsay were not, however, dismayed. They had made a good start with the personal house-to-house canvass. They had been fortunate to secure as their agent the representative of the old Whig law house. Mr. John Ross, who only a year previously had been engaged by Messrs. Macfarlane & Bardner as their right hand man, proved a most efficient organiser of electioneering agency and inspirer of canvassing activity. Throwing himself into the fight with an ardour that never let him take rest, he allowed no rest to his political friends, or even to his vigilant foes. Many pledges which had been lightly or casually given had to be confirmed, and still more, new promises of support had to be obtained, and the work was done swiftly and quietly. The result of the vigorous canvass of the Dunfermline electors cheered the Ramsayites

with confident hopes of success. Moreover, they expected a large majority for their candidate in Stirling. For was not Mr. Ramsay a "Son of the Rock"? And it was assumed that the proofs he had given of filial affection for the town of his birth would stand him in good stead in the keen electoral battle.

The contest was carried on with great vigour alike by the candidates, who had five different burghs in four different counties to visit, and by their supporters. Both Mr. Ramsay and Mr. Campbell, however, carefully avoided indulgence in personalities or in abusive language;—and though less restraint was exercised by their ardent supporters, the wordy strife was kept fairly well within bounds. Citizens who had been friends all their days, and hitherto in the same political galley, felt they could discuss the relative claims of their favourites with an easy jocularity. Without any loss of temper, a Campbellite could hear an avowal that the older man was as good a Liberal as the younger, and a Ramsayite would smile incredulously when a sanguine admirer of young Henry professed his belief that he would some day take a high place in the Imperial Senate. On both sides a great deal of vigour was shown, but nothing like serious estrangement was cherished by the workers for the time being in strenuous antagonism to each other.

On the evening of the polling day, however, an incident occurred which aroused the fiercest mutual hostilities. The result of the poll declared at Stirling was a keen disappointment to Mr. Campbell's Dunfermline admirers, especially among the citizens who were non-electors, in respect that they were not Ten Pound Renters. The figures were:—

| | | |
|-------------|---------|-----|
| John Ramsay | - - - - | 565 |
| H. Campbell | - - - - | 494 |

Out of a constituency of 1272, 1059 electors recorded their votes, and Mr. Ramsay was returned by a majority of 71. The citizens of Dunfermline were greatly excited by the news of the defeat of their popular candidate, and in anticipation of his visit to console and to take counsel with his friends, the whole population seemed to turn out to greet him. It was seen that no hall would be nearly large enough to accommodate the thousands who wished to see and hear him, and to cheer him with assurance that after the franchise was extended the new electors would see to his triumphant return. The suggestion was made that the temporarily defeated hero should address from a window in the Town House the huge throng assembled in the High Street. When, however, application was made for admission to the building, the use of the key was refused; and the fury of the Campbellites, who felt that they were being denied by Ramsay sympathisers who were in municipal offices the use of their own property in a way that seemed most fitted to serve the public convenience, became ungovernable.

CHAPTER III.

VERDICT UNDER HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE.

In the passion of the moment scornful words were used ; life-time friends found themselves bitter opponents ; and by and by, when the Campbellite majority in the Town Council passed a resolution which the Provost and the two Bailies, who were supporters of Mr. Ramsay, regarded as a vote of censure, a disquieting municipal crisis was created. The places of the three dignitaries, who resigned their Magisterial chairs, were soon filled by capable and experienced civic administrators ; but the hostilities which had been excited did not quickly abate ; and with the temper of the community at white heat both parties prepared for the second battle, under the household franchise measure, which was then assured of a successful passage through Parliament. The contest in spring proved only a preparatory engagement, which developed into a general battle, carried on for nearly six months, until the election of the Reformed Parliament in November.

The fierceness of strife among friends is proverbial. In the first contest men who belonged to the same religious congregation or denomination fell out over the personal claims of two political candidates hitherto strangers, but they maintained fairly good humour, though strenuous enough in their electoral exertions. After the exasperation caused by " the key controversy," the temper changed, and difference regarding Mr. Ramsay and Mr. Campbell meant a suspension of friendship.

The constituency of the Stirling Burghs had since 1832 been regarded as practically one in political faith. No can-

didate calling himself Conservative had ever even offered his services, or at all events had ventured to accept the test of a poll. In the contests which took place differences in the political professions of the rival suitors were detected rather than admitted or professed; and the voters gave their support according as in their judgment the candidate of their preference was more or less pronounced in his Liberalism. In Dunfermline, the predominance of Liberal sentiment was confessedly more conspicuous than in any of the five burghs; as a matter of fact, the publisher of the county Tory paper, after not a little personal canvassing, could not find more than seven subscribers for his journal in the city and immediate district. Religious Dissent, too, was strong both numerically and socially. The men most conspicuous in public life and service were almost wholly United Presbyterians or Free Churchmen. In former electoral battles the Dissenting Ministers had been actively associated with Chartist and other Advanced Liberals in the championship of the candidates most uncompromising and emphatic in their advocacy of Free Trade, Religious Equality, National Education, Franchise Extension, the overthrow of class privilege, and the provision in the national life and service of equal opportunities for all. In the electoral preparations which were prosecuted with practically no interruption from April, when Mr. Ramsay took his seat, until the dissolution in October, most of the ministers were for the reason already stated, active friends of, not to say keen canvassers for, Mr. Ramsay, though the majority of the members of their congregations were avowed and ardent Campbellites.

This cleavage tended to aggravate the spirit of partisanship, which gradually grew in intensity as the time for the

election under the extended franchise approached. The mass of the householders admitted for the first time to the full status of citizenship were enthusiastic advocates of the Campbell cause. With few exceptions they adhered to the side and party to which they gave their sympathy when they were still non-electors. The few waverers were soon detected. Though conspicuous because of their fewness they were not regarded as the most reputable of citizens. They were known to be liable to influences more or less corrupt, and they showed themselves as ready to take advantage of their opportunities as the unworthy "wobblers" under the limited franchise ever did. They received a great deal of attention from men of influence in the city. Some times they were reported to be on one side and sometimes the other ; and these varied oscillations were as frequently the themes of discussion and deliberation at the street corner Parliaments as the platform triumphs of Mr. Campbell, and his shrewdness in answering the tricky hecklers from the Ramsay camp. The conclusion reached was that these unstable men were the partisans of the well-to-do canvassers they had last seen ; and after the polling day many amazing stories were related of the devices adopted to keep them under supervision throughout the night before the polling day, and to march them to the booth at eight o'clock in the morning—after which they were allowed to sink into their wonted insignificance as negligible quantities.

So far as the Campbellites were concerned, there was, in view of their prospects, no cause for concern as to the conduct of the "wobblers"—though they displayed it quite as keenly and maintained it quite as constantly as their opponents. The thorough canvass they made of the whole electorate within the burgh left them no room for doubt,

that so far as Dunfermline was concerned, their champion would command a majority of several hundreds. No relaxation of effort was, however, permitted. In the first campaign the direction of the canvass had been left in the hands of the Glasgow solicitor Mr. Campbell brought with him. On this occasion the services of a local agent were called into requisition, and in Mr. Alexander Macbeth the party



Mr. Alexander Macbeth.

found a worker quite as zealous and resourceful as Mr. Ross for Mr. Ramsay. Mr. Macbeth was at once stimulated and supported by a most efficient committee, whose members were drawn from all classes of the community. Not the least active and influential of the Conveners was Mr. (afterwards Bailie) Thomas Walker, whose vigilant activities and

shrewd counsels perhaps contributed as much to the success which was achieved as the experience and influence of Provost Robertson and the inspiring oratory of Mr. (afterwards Bailie) Thomas Morrison.

In the hot and passionate controversies which were indulged in when the opposing adherents met each other casually on the street or in business, or deliberately confronted each other on the platform, Mr. Ramsay's uninspiring oratory was frequently the subject of Campbellite jibes; one of the jests made at the expense of the bald-headed old man, who was as careful to keep out of draughts as he was not to give himself away by hasty, ill-considered utterance, was that the only speech he delivered at Westminster during his brief Parliamentary sojourn was—"I'll thank ye to shut that window." On the other hand, the Ramsayites made the most of Mr. Campbell's connection with the Tory family; and he was often spoken of as though he were a Tory in disguise—an unscrupulous demagogue, who was the friend of the working man because he had a vote, but who would disappoint the expectations of his reforming friends the moment he had beguiled them into giving him their electoral support. It will be noticed that this taunt was launched against him during the speech he delivered at Stirling on the eve of the poll:—

"I rejoice that the great body of the people have been admitted to have a voice in the counsels of the nation. I rejoice that the working classes have been endowed with a share—a great share—I will even say a preponderating share of power and responsibility which attaches to those who discharge the public functions of citizenship. Now, gentlemen, I am glad of this not only because of itself, but because it brings the whole mind of the nation to bear upon great questions which await solution at the hands of the newly formed Parliament. And of these questions my opinion is well known to you. I am in favour of the representation of the people, of a more equitable distribution of seats—of the reduction of the county franchise to the same level which now

exists in burghs,—of the removal of the ratepaying clause which I believe, is untenable in principle, as it is incongruous and inconsistent in practice—above all and before all, I am in favour of the introduction of the vote by ballot in order that you may be able to express your opinion without any man's leave. And as to the clear issue which has been submitted to the arbitrament of the country with regard to the Irish Church, I hope that the new constituencies will give no faltering decision. The recommendation of the Royal Commissioners only scrape the outside of the evil. We must cut deeper than that. Disestablishment and disendowment and that alone are compatible with justice in Ireland. And I sincerely hope that the passing of that measure will be the means of bringing all parties into closer unison and more continued harmony between the several countries. and that the first fruits of the policy will be that we have gained the confidence of the Irish people. Now, gentlemen, I am not going to say much more. You know my opinions on national economy and the reduction of the national expenditure, and all other topics which are discussed at present at such meetings as this. (A voice from the crowd—"You're a Tory.") Now, some of my kind friends in the crowd say I am a Tory. Well, my father is a Tory, and I am proud of him, and my brother is a Tory, and I am not ashamed of him. My father is, as you all well know, because you have been told it, chairman to the Tory candidate for Glasgow, and my brother is chairman of the Lord Advocate's Committee of the Glasgow University. Therefore, they say I am a Tory. I should like to see the man who would come to my face and tell me that. All I can say is this, that if I am a Tory in disguise, I would be hurt for my position, but in proof of the fact that I am not a Jesuit, as my opponents would make you suppose, I may add that this morning I took the trouble of going to Glasgow, and recording my vote for two of the Liberal candidates. Now, gentlemen, some time ago you had an election here, and at that election I failed to get a majority of the suffrages. Against that decision, as representing the opinion of the people of the burghs, this candidature of mine is, of course, an open protest. I know that I possess the sympathy and the good-will of the working classes of the burghs. I say I know it. Not that I hope for it. I say I have it. And there has been nothing which has occurred during the last six months which has belied or militated against that conviction. Wherever I have gone I have been received with the greatest kindness and hearty goodwill, and in every part of the constituency the general public have crowned me with honours which I have done nothing to deserve. All that I want from you is to afford me an opportunity of deserving the honour. Entrust your Parliamentary interests to me. I promise to devote myself to your services and to show by my

conduct that I reciprocate your great sympathy, kindness, and confidence which you have placed in me."

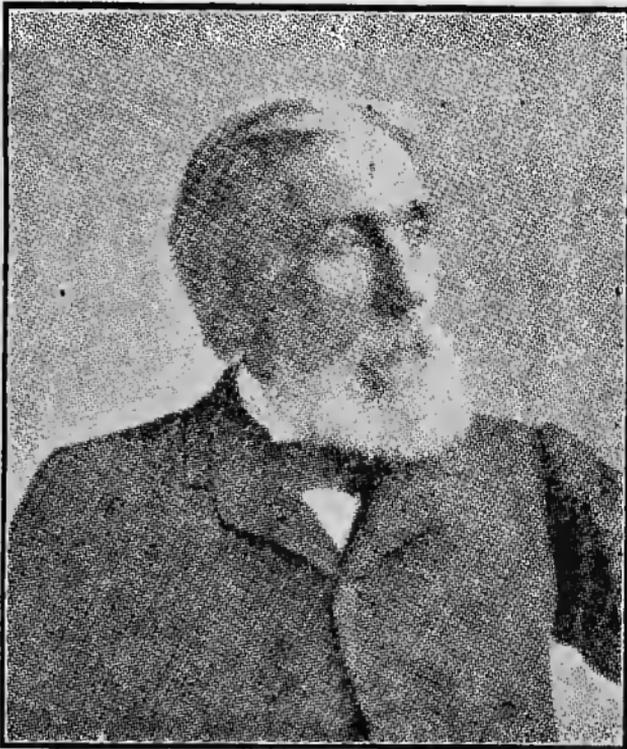
The poll fully justified the confident expectations of victory entertained by Mr. Campbell and his friends. The Ramsay majority of 71 under the £10 franchise was converted into a Campbell majority of 519 in the constituency as enlarged by the introduction of household suffrage. The total figures were :—

| | | |
|-------------|-----------|------|
| H. Campbell | - - - - - | 2201 |
| J. Ramsay | - - - - - | 1682 |

When thirty-seven years afterwards Mr. Ross had the distinction of Honorary Burgess of Dunfermline added to the honorific title of LL.D. of St. Andrew's University, in recognition of his varied and valuable public services, he thus recalled the part he played in the two stages of the historic electoral struggle :—

"Personalities and hatreds were rife, the line between the opposing forces was sharp, and they vied with each other in hurling challenges and defiances in each other's faces. There were no such contests or politics now, at least in Dunfermline. The fight in those days was a genuine one, now it is but a sham battle. Sir Henry then had to fight for his life, and he nearly lost it; now, he has only to endure pin-pricks. A voter was a voter then, and the agent had to know every man's biography. Such were the politics of these days, but the point for me was that I was in the front of the battle these eight months, and became known throughout the length and breadth of Dunfermline for various qualities. By the Campbellites these were summarised by designating me 'The Devil!' Yes, but they had all the while the kindly hope that I might take thought and mend; and so, no sooner was the contest over than some of them numbered me amongst their closest friends. I well remember the handling I received from the kindly Bailie Walker, and the announcement he made of his conviction that I was a mere man after all, and not the superhuman personage they had supposed. This he officially announced to the party, and probably in their haste to show they had no fear of the supernatural, I was embraced as a friend."

The restoration of good humour and the renewal of old friendships which followed the excitements and strifes of 1868 proved a happy illustration of the truth of the familiar saying—"The hotter the war the sooner the peace." Before the year closed ex-Provost Whitelaw, who had withdrawn from the office of Chief Magistrate as the



Dr. Ross.

result of the personal estrangements produced by "the hey" incident, was given a gratifying assurance of the goodwill and esteem of his fellow citizens, agreed in warm appreciation of his generous devotion to interests of Dunfermline, although at variance as to the rival claims of

two Glasgow candidates for their political suffrage. At a large public gathering in the Music Hall, he was presented with a time-piece and upwards of £200 worth of silver plate, subscribed for by all classes of his fellow citizens. In the spirit of the old song—"Let Whig and Tory a' agree," the partizans of the opposing candidates quickly laid aside their animosities; and Mr. Campbell himself, by his prudence, his geniality, and his readiness to make himself the political servant of all sections, did not a little to facilitate and to confirm the happy reconciliations.

CHAPTER IV.

A WINNING PERSONALITY.

Having won the seat after a prolonged and arduous struggle, Mr. Campbell bore himself from the first as a man who meant to keep it. Recognising that one of the surest securities for the retention of his prized political stewardship was peace, he showed himself careful in precept and conduct to commend the Apostolic injunction to live peaceably with all men. And while he strove to unify and solidify the Liberalism of the constituency, he prudently endeavoured to avoid provocative offence to the influential minority in the constituency who could not accept his political principles. Thus at the very beginning of his political career he laid the foundation of a popular estimate similar to that expressed in Henry Lee's eulogy of George Washington—"First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." An old constituent writing thirty-two years afterwards when the young member had become the veteran leader, authoritatively testified and confidently prophesied:—"The oldest elector in the Stirling Burghs to-day will testify that the man who was most instrumental in allaying the strife and in re-uniting a distracted, embittered party was the member who is now to be offered the leadership of the Liberal party. What Mr. Henry Campbell accomplished in his own constituency justifies the hopes entertained of what Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman will be able to achieve in the difficult task of Liberal leader in the Commons, which, it is understood, he is ready at the call of his party to undertake."

One of the secrets of his success, as he pursued this

course was his avoidance of the vulgar demagogic arts. He never figured as a popularity-hunter. Flattery and sycophancy alike were foreign to his nature ; and in all his relations with his constituents he was true to himself as an honest, self-respecting, benevolent-minded man. So for him the way of peace was easy, artless, and unencumbered.



The Young Member.

Doubtless some of his supporters, while he was still a candidate, preferred him to Mr. Ramsay, because they were willing to believe that his connection with the extensive trading firm of J. & W. Campbell would bring some commercial or business advantage to the city. Possibly to some slight extent this expectation was realised. As

Member of Parliament, however, Mr. Campbell never encouraged the idea that his political connection with Dunfermline or with any of the other burghs would secure them any pecuniary or business advantage. No one in intercourse with him ever found lurking in his mind an inclination to believe in the potency of money, such as the Laird of Dumbiedykes confessed when in his anxiety to relieve the distressed mind of Jeanie Deans he asked, "Will siller dae't?" Even before the Corrupt Practices Act came into operation he showed himself as scrupulous in his avoidance of the appearance of bribery as a Liberal candidate for a more southern constituency did when he hesitated to hire a porter to carry his carpet bag from the railway station to his hotel, lest he should be suspected of complicity in an act of political corruption. By and bye he presented a bowl or cup for annual competition between the bowling clubs of Dunfermline and Stirling; but his personal expenditure among his constituents was always slight, and his contributions to local schemes deserving of sympathy were few and comparatively slender. In time his constituents learned to respect him for never treating them as though their political support could be bought by silver or gold; yet he was never regarded or depreciated as close-fisted or parsimonious.

In Parliamentary service, however, he was unsparing. He answered promptly and courteously all communications addressed to him by his constituents. He never failed in personal attention when any of them visited the Courts of Parliament. He supplied public representative bodies with copies of Bills and Blue-books, and he always gave to those who sought his counsel the impression that he regarded it as at once a duty and a pleasure to keep himself in closest touch with those who had elected him as their representative.

Thus, as his connection with the constituency extended in point of time, the feeling was strengthened that he cherished as keen an interest, in Dunfermline at all events, as though he had been a native-born citizen. When he made his annual visit to render an account of his stewardship, he was wont to meet in the home of his host for the



The Veteran Leader.

occasion some of the leading men of the city, and converse with them freely on business as well as political affairs. The first of these gatherings was held in the house of Provost Reid, who had been elected to the Chief Magistrate's chair after Provost Whitelaw's resignation, and after Provost Robertson's brief occupancy as *locum tenens*. In those

early days the company included men much older than the Member, veterans in the study of politics as in conduct of business ; and they were wont to speak (as in after years younger men did when the Member himself became a veteran) of the conversation as edifying and stimulating in the highest degree. Their testimony always was that the Member bore himself with unaffected geniality and kindness ; that his talk, whether on business or politics, was shrewd, illuminating, and inspiring ; that they felt personal intercourse with him to be a genuine education, and that they returned to their respective spheres with their wits quickened, their outlook on trade and commerce brightened and widened, and their estimate of political service heightened.

In these social meetings Mr. Campbell proved himself much more than an entertaining raconteur. He told many amusing stories, but he never failed to impress his friends with a sense of the importance of political life, and of the urgency of the need for pure-minded and devoted service. Quiet festivities of this kind afforded to the Member peculiar opportunities of impressing his personality upon many successive generations of men concerned for the well-being of the city and of grappling to his soul as with hopes of steel the friends whose adoption had been tried. He never, however, left any room for the suspicion that he was a respecter of persons in the offensive sense of the term, or had the slightest sympathy with the attitude of the claimants to superiority who accepted the teaching of Horace in dislike of the *profanum vulgus*. In the public meeting he spoke and acted as one who found pleasure in intercourse with electors of all social ranks. He let them know that he regarded himself as their political steward, and them as his masters, entitled to praise or blame,

and also to "heckle." In his encounter with the keen catechists he was never worsted; his frankness disarmed hostility; many a time his soft answer turned away the wrath of angry Tory partisans; and invariably he won the favourable verdict of his auditors. The public meetings, like the private meetings, were educative in their influence.

At the time Mr. Campbell entered upon political life the annual meeting between a Member of Parliament and his constituents was regarded as a much more important function than it is now-a-days, when the newspaper press plays the part of universal Mentor. Men like Mr. Duncan M'Laren, the senior Member for Edinburgh; Mr. Grant Duff, the Member for the Elgin Burghs; Mr. Edward Ellice, the member for the St. Andrews Burghs; Mr. W. E. Baxter, the Member for the Montrose Burghs, prepared elaborate addresses for the instruction not only of their masters in their own constituencies, but of their countrymen as a whole. It cannot be claimed that in those days the speeches of the Member for the Stirling Burghs carried the weight that attached to the deliverances of the "Member for Scotland," who had been a close student of politics for half a century; or of Mr. Grant Duff, who was wont "with extensive view" to "survey mankind from China to Peru"; or of the Member for the St. Andrews Burghs, the intimate friend of the Whig leaders, whose "Parliamentary Notes and Incidents" in the *Scotsman* marked him as a pioneer-prince of London letter-writers; or of the Member for the Montrose Burghs, whose teaching identified sound economic principles and religious aspirations, inspiring the advanced Liberalism of Scotland with the testimony and claims of the Manchester School and of English Nonconformity. They commanded attention, however, as an intelligent expression of the views of a

younger generation of political thinkers, ready to adapt the creed accepted by their fathers and their seniors to the altering conditions and possibilities of the social and national life, and they won for him increasing recognition not only by his appreciative constituents but by the country at large as a coming man in the Parliamentary arena.

Mr. Campbell's friends were delighted to observe that his speeches were treated by the leading Scottish newspapers with a respect similar to that extended to the utterances of the much older and more experienced politicians, who were recognised as deliverers of messages to the country. To some extent this was due to the rivalry between the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Scotsman*. These two papers had begun to realise that they had a national as well as a local mission. Hitherto they had concentrated their attention on circumscribed spheres. Stirling had come to be regarded as their meeting point between east and west, and any transgression of this limit in the way of special news service was resented as a discourteous aggression. When, however, two Glasgow citizens, in whose political fortunes the people of the Western Metropolis were keenly interested, became candidates for the Stirling Burghs, and when it was seen that Dunfermline and not Stirling was the chief centre of the fight the *Herald* was tempted to display as much interest in Dunfermline political meetings as in demonstrations nearer home. This interest was continued after the son of an ex-Lord Provost and prominent citizen had become Member for the Burghs; and when the leading Glasgow paper sent a special reporter to Mr. Campbell's Dunfermline meetings, and arranged for a specially telegraphed report, the leading Edinburgh paper refused to let itself be out-classed in public service in what

it regarded as its own sphere. Thanks to this rivalry, the young Member received much more attention from the newspapers than most of the Scottish Members outside of Edinburgh and Glasgow ; and his constituents, noticing the distinction with pride and appreciation, were confirmed in their view that he was a rising man, destined to bring them increasing credit by the growth of his own fame and influence.

With all his care and skill in the exercise of conciliatory arts, Mr. Campbell never gave his Radical reforming admirers in Dunfermline cause for suspicion of any slackening of zeal in his democratic aspirations. As lovers of independence themselves, they noted with satisfaction that he was careful to preserve his own independence. They perceived with gratification that he never spoke or acted as though he were an office-seeker regarding political service as a profession, and not primarily as a public duty and a high distinction. His speeches and his votes proclaimed his sympathy with the views of the Manchester School, of which the most prominent English representative was John Bright, and the most uncompromising Scottish advocate was Duncan M'Laren. Yet he made no ostentatious parade of his independence. He identified himself with no fad. His temper was always singularly free from anything suggestive of fanaticism. Already his moderation was known to all men ; and though he never showed any wavering in the acceptance of the democratic creed he had proclaimed at the outset of his career, he was to some extent an Opportunist, in sympathy with practical statesmen, who know "the season when to take occasion by the hand and make the bounds of freedom wider yet." He realised and appreciated the importance of the reforming work done by the

“ Cabinet of all the Talents ” placed in power in the first Parliament elected under the extended franchise ; and consequently notwithstanding his claim to be an Independent, he found it as easy to be a supporter of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues as if he had been a professed or an official Ministerialist.

CHAPTER V

THE CALL TO OFFICE.

In his service at Westminster, Mr. Campbell did not figure as a pushful man. He showed no desire for notoriety and no resentment for non-recognition. Though Mr. Gladstone passed him in the lobby as though he were a stranger, his admiration for the Liberal leader never wavered or weakened, and his sympathy with the reforming work of the Government made it easy for him to be responsive to the summons of the Liberal Whip. His fidelity and intelligence were, however, observed with appreciation at headquarters, and in 1871 he was offered the office of Financial Secretary of the War Office, under Mr. Cardwell.

The offer caused him some surprise and no little embarrassment. He had entered Parliament as an "Independent" rather than as an official Liberal; and he knew that his constituents appreciated his independent attitude. On the other hand, as a young man who had separated himself from business to devote himself to Parliamentary life, he was bound to have regard to his future, and as a Progressive Liberal he found his views and aspirations as a reformer harmonised with the work of the Gladstonian administration. After some hesitation he persuaded himself he could accept office as a colleague of Mr. Cardwell without sacrificing, or even compromising, any of the principles he had pledged himself to maintain; more especially as the Secretary for War was at the time engaged in a scheme of military re-organisation, giving effect to the Liberal doctrine of promotion by merit, and designed to promote efficiency along with economy by cutting off the burdensome honorary colonelcies.

When he next visited his constituents he found that his Association with the Gladstone Ministry had strengthened rather than weakened his position in the Burghs. He frankly admitted that his official connection with the Government altered his position as an independent member, but gave his assurance that if ever he found the duty expected and required of him as an office-holder interfered with the claims or interests of his constituents, or conflicted with the principles he had professed, he would not hesitate to resign his Ministerial post. This answer silenced the few cavillers who made themselves heard. As a matter of fact, however, he soon made the pleasant discovery that the Burghs thought more of him than ever, because of his selection for office. While his earliest friends welcomed the promotion as a confirmation of the wisdom of their choice and indulged in pleasing anticipations of his advancement to higher positions, the former supporters of Mr. Ramsay began openly to number themselves among his friends and admirers. One of them, Bailie Inglis, in seconding a vote of confidence, proposed by Bailie Morrison, described him as a first-class Member, and his selection for the office of Financial Secretary for War as an honour to the constituency as well as to himself. An Inverkeithing Radical, Mr. Roberts, who, like Bailie Morrison, had been a Chartist, certified him as a very useful Member, who had come into his kingdom sooner than he had expected; while a Dunfermline admirer hailed him as a future Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister. Even prominent citizens, who were known to be out of sympathy with many of his democratic principles, began at this time to make their appearance on his platform, feeling that just as successive Provosts regarded it as their official duty to preside at the Member's meeting,

so they as citizens, gratified by the distinction the Member had brought to the town, and loyal to the constitution of the country, could not withhold their tribute of respect to a member of Her Majesty's Ministry.

His popularity at this time was confirmed by the increasing effectiveness of his platform oratory. A contemporary comment on his speech and appearance at his Dunfermline meeting in December, 1872, was that his address was "lucid and straightforward,"—"he has a good presence, an excellent enunciation, a terse epigrammatic way of putting all he has to say so as to be intelligible to the meanest intelligence." His skill in political fencing with the crafty, sharp-witted "hecklers" likewise commanded admiration. During the keen discussions that agitated all Scotland over Dr. Norman Macleod's definition of the Sabbath Law, Mr. Merry, the Member for the Falkirk Burghs, was asked by a mischief-maker at Hamilton whether he was in favour of the abolition of the Decalogue. Mr. Merry, who knew much more about horse-racing and iron-making than ecclesiastical controversies, was evidently nonplussed. He did not know what the Decalogue was, or what the question portended, but he was shrewd enough to perceive from the uproarious hilarity that prevailed that an attempt was being made to "have" him. After having failed to obtain any guidance from his political agent and adviser, he had recourse to his own wits, and he succeeded in turning the laugh against his tormentor by answering—"If my friend in the gallery will frame a bill for the abolition of the Decalogue, I promise to give it my most careful consideration." Mr. Campbell was asked how he, as a pledged economist, could consent to the expenditure of thirteen millions sterling on the Army, and he scored a perfect success

when he answered—"If my friend will come up and show me how it can be done for five millions, I assure him of a most hearty welcome on the part of Mr. Cardwell and myself."

As an illustration of his early relation to a question which has become in more senses than one "burning" at the present day, Mr. Campbell's answer to a woman suffrage reformer in 1872 may also be recalled. He stated that he had voted in favour of Mr. Jacob Bright's bill. He added, however, the confession that though he admitted the justice of the claim embodied in the bill, he was not very anxious to see the reform carried, because he did not think women would be very much better for votes than they were without them. At a later date, he presented to Parliament a petition from Dunfermline Town Council in favour of the Women's Disabilities Bill, and he certainly did not modify his acceptance of the principle of woman's enfranchisement after he became Prime Minister. At one of his latest meetings in Dunfermline he indeed created momentary consternation in the ranks of franchise reformers when he solemnly answered "No" to a question "Do you believe that women have the right to 'vote'?" The dead silence which this answer caused was quickly relieved by an outburst of hilarious cheering when, with a merry twinkle he added that the want of that right was where the trouble lay.

Mr. Campbell highly valued the distinction of association with the Gladstone administration during part of the period described as "the golden age of Liberalism," but he was one of the first to realise that the Government had passed the zenith of their popularity. He did not lightly esteem their merits. He felt that a Ministry that had sought to uproot Irish discontent by the establishment of religious

equality, and to facilitate the settlement of the patriotic native peasantry on the land of their fathers, that had striven to elevate the standards of life by a national system of education, the fuller and fairer employment of education endowments, and by various legal reforms, and that had abolished the purchase system in the Army, deserved well of the country. Still, though comparatively limited in his experience as an observer of national life, he was sensible that it is not in mortals to command success even when they deserve it. Aristides excited popular prejudice just because he was praised for his justice, and Mr. Campbell saw that in spite of their signal legislative and administrative benefactions, the Gladstonian Government were losing their hold upon the people, now ready to laugh when Mr. Disraeli described the occupants of the Front Ministerial bench as extinct volcanoes. The English Non-conformists, disappointed because they did not obtain all they felt they were entitled to, not only in justice, but in recognition of their party service, were sulking and resentful. The Trades-Unionists were giving practical illustration of the truth of the saying there is no gratitude in politics. Republicanism, strengthened by the support of Sir Charles Dilke, not to speak of the supposed sympathy of Mr. Chamberlain, had begun to raise its head. The Irish members, unappeased by the Church and Land reforms, were clamouring for Home Rule under the leadership of Mr. Isaac Ball, and were estranged by the Irish University Bill. And while men who called themselves Liberals were showing themselves disquieted and anxious for a pause in legislative zeal in the spirit of Lord Russell's phrase—"Rest and Be Thankful," the opponents of progress, strengthened by the Liquor Trade, whose hostility had been excited by

Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill, were becoming increasingly threatening and formidable under the adroit and courageous leadership of Mr. Disraeli. Speaking to his constituents in December, 1873, Mr. Campbell gave them warning that the overthrow or collapse of the Government might not be far distant. But he proudly claimed that when their life came to an end it could be said of them—

Their setting sun sheds forth a glimmering ray
Like ancient Rome majestic in decay.
And better gleanings their worn soil can boast
Than the sour vintage of the opposing host.

Still, a Ministerial re-arrangement, under which Mr. Gladstone assumed the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in place of Mr. Lowe (discredited by his Match Tax, in spite of its clever *ex luce lucellum* device) and the great Minister's personal activity during the recess, gave the impression that a renewal of effort to recover popularity for the Government during the last stage of the septennium was to be made. Thanks to the alliance of Beer and Bible, and the growing apathy of the Liberals, the Conservative party continued to win Government seats in the constituencies, and on the 23rd of January, 1874, the impulsive Premier took friends and foes alike by surprise by the issue of a manifesto to the electors of Greenwich announcing the dissolution of Parliament. When the text of this address was being received in the office of the *Glasgow Herald* by telegraph, the editor for some time entertained doubts as to the authenticity of the document. The late Duke of Argyll, a colleague of the Prime Minister, and one of his most intimate and trusted friends, happened to be in Glasgow on the night of the 23rd January fulfilling an engagement, and a member of the staff was dispatched to His Grace to ask for confirmation or for repudiation of the

telegraphic message. The Duke at first laughed at the idea that the message could be Mr. Gladstone's; he had, he said, been quite recently in consultation with his political chief, and claimed to know something of his mind and purpose. He took the view that the manifesto must be an audacious fraud. As sheet after sheet was read and pondered, and the Gladstonian characteristics of diction were noted, both the editor and the Duke were gradually convinced that the long political letter could not be other than a genuine Gladstonian document.*

The chief feature of this manifesto was a proposal to make use of a surplus of six millions due to economical Liberal administration and continued commercial prosperity, in a financial re-adjustment which would permit of the abolition of the Income-tax. By many economists and political purists this proposal was condemned as an electoral device tending to political corruption, and while it startled the country by its boldness, it was regarded in many quarters with not a little misgiving. Mr. Campbell did not profess himself enamoured of the scheme, though as a member of the Government he was willing to accept it. In asking for the renewal of the confidence of the electors of the Burghs he preferred to base his championship of the Government on the splendour of their achievements as upholders of the doctrine that the greatest of British interests is peace, as legislative reformers concerned for the social and moral well-being of the people, and as administrators zealous and successful in the application of the principle that a wise economy

* Similar doubt and perplexity were caused in the office of the "DAILY REVIEW," Edinburgh, when in September, 1885, a copy of Mr. Gladstone's long address to the electors of Midlothian announcing a dissolution and appealing for re-election was sent to the editor without a single word of preliminary notice or explanation.

is the best security for efficiency. In his election address he said :—

“It appears superfluous that I should enter upon a detailed capitulation of my political opinions, as they must be well known to you all. I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to act as your representative in accordance with those opinions and in firm adherence to those Liberal principles to which your constituency has always been warmly attached. I trust that my conduct has received your approval, and that you will be willing to continue to me your confidence in a new Parliament.”

In his platform addresses, however, he spoke with less restraint. He left no one in doubt as to his approval and admiration of the work done by the Gladstone Ministry and the Reformed Parliament. He described the Irish Church Act as the removal of a great and an irritating anomaly ; and when questioned as to his willingness to extend the application of the principle of religious equality, he repeated his readiness to support Disestablishment in Scotland, though recognising that opinion in England was not so ripe for the change as it was North of the Tweed. He commended the principle of the Irish Land Act that the owner of the land held it subject to the condition that the State may interfere when it likes for the public good, so long as it inflicted on the owner no pecuniary harm. He was warm in his praise of his Departmental chief, Mr. Cardwell, as the author of a scheme of military reform by which promotion would be regulated, not by influence or wealth, but by merit. As a genuine democrat, believing that an honest man is the noblest work of God, he lauded the Corrupt Practices Act as a protection against intimidatory tactics or bribery at elections, so that each elector might be able to vote in accordance with his conscientious convictions. A believer in the inspiring doctrine that know-

ledge is power, and that wisdom and duty alike required the State to educate its masters, he referred with pride and gratification to the putting in operation of two great measures of national education, the more advanced of which was obtained by and for Scotland. He further claimed credit for the Government in respect of the removal of religious tests at the University, the legal reforms effected under the Judicature Act, and the greater protection provided for Trades Unions. Nor did he forget the remarkable success with which the foreign and colonial policies of the Government had been conducted during periods of exceptional strain and peril, under which influence had been successfully exercised for the prevention of the extension of the area of strife during the Franco-German War ; for the protection of Spain and Turkey and other powers as they imperilled their national lives by internal follies and external ambitions ; for the restraint of Russian aggression in Central Asia, and the fresh security of friendly relations by the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh with the daughter of " the son of him with whom we strove for power " ; for the avoidance of strife with kinsmen by means of the Alabama Commission, now recognised as having laid the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon fusion ; for the vindication of British authority in Afghanistan and Ashantee as an agency of humanity and freedom ; and for the assuagement of Colonial suspicions and controversies, in harmony with the system which in later years he described as " sane Imperialism." His defence of the Government and his laudation of their work were equally clear and earnest, and were practically endorsed by the constituency.

The reply made to Mr. Gladstone's appeal by the electorates throughout the country gave evidence of a sweeping Conservative re-action. In the Stirling Burghs, however,

no sign of political or party blacksliding was exhibited. No opponent ventured to enter the field against Mr. Campbell, and he returned to Westminster with the assurance that while early friendships had been confirmed, the animosities excited during the second contest in 1868 had entirely died away.



Provost Robertson.

CHAPTER. VI.

IN OPPOSITION.

In 1872 Mr. Campbell made a change, not of his political coat, but of his name. Under the will of his maternal uncle, Henry Bannerman of Hunton Court, Kent, he added Bannerman to his patronymic. Some uneasiness was felt among his local admirers lest the change should obscure, if it did not practically obliterate, the designation with which they had become familiar, and their representative be henceforth known as Mr. Bannerman. Relief was given when it was discovered that the old name was not to be disused, but was to be incorporated in the double barrelled title of Campbell-Bannerman. Years before his fame became national and world-wide, and he was spoken of, for short, as "C. B.," the lettering on the door mats of the new Dunfermline Senate house showed the same initials. Occasionally visitors to the city as they passed into the Council Chambers ventured to joke about the indignity shown the great statesman in the house of his friends by requiring all who entered to tread on the familiar letters. They were relieved, however, when told that the "C. B." on the mats signify not Campbell Bannerman, but Corporation Buildings.

Release from administrative duties afforded Mr. Campbell-Bannerman a fuller opportunity of gratifying his artistic and literary tastes than he enjoyed when in office; and one of the fruits of his leisure was a lecture on Michael Angelo, delivered under the auspices of the Dunfermline Literary Society. The sketch he presented of this marvellous genius bore the impress of enthusiasm for a character representing his "own ideal knight." He

reviewed his hero's achievements as scholar, painter, sculptor, engineer, and philosopher; and remarking it was rare to find in one man such a combination of gifts, he said that Italy might well claim him as the noblest heritage of her children, while men of all nationalities might advantageously strive to imitate his example. He pictured him not as "The Happy Warrior," but as "the perfect gentleman," as a man and a citizen, pure, temperate and unblemished; proud and independent where duty called for the assertion of his position; generous, open and earnest; humble and lovely in his devotion to duty; true to his country; true and tender to his friends. Are not these the characteristics of a perfect gentleman?

At one time the hope was entertained that the Member for the Burghs would find a home for himself in some part of the constituency. Not a little disappointment was felt when he settled as a county gentleman in Kent, and actively identified himself with the Liberal workers in Maidstone, who returned his friend, Sir John Lubbock, afterwards Lord Avebury. Friends agree best separate, the proverb tells us; and probably the friendship of Member and constituents suffered nothing from the avoidance of residential entanglements in the shape of local controversies or social misunderstandings.

He continued, however, to regard the discussion of politics his chief concern in his intercourse with his constituents. A yearly round of the Burghs in order to render an account of his stewardship he regarded as a duty, and the happy relations with the electors always becoming more intimate made for him the performance of this duty a genuine pleasure. He was equally at his ease in the fireside like "cracks" at Culross, in his conferences

with fishermen at South Queensferry, in his talks with Inverkeithing shipbuilders and quarry workers, and in his addresses to large meetings at Dunfermline or Stirling. These talks were not by any means confined to local or trivial matters. The re-actionary character of the legislative measures of the Government and the "spirited foreign policy" which Mr. Disraeli incited, afforded abundant and also inspiring themes for the Liberal critic.

The Public Worship Bill for England, the measure championed by the Conservative Prime Minister as a means of putting down Ritualism, but opposed by the Marquis of Salisbury with a keenness which elicited from the elder statesman the taunt that his Lordship was a master of gibes and jeers and sneers—he denounced as a most unconstitutional measure, whose real author was the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Scottish Patronage Bill naturally engaged much more fully his attention. Hitherto as a Liberal churchman accepting the principle of religious equality, he had not figured as "a forward advocate of Disestablishment," but this measure promoted solely in the interests of the Church of Scotland, and caricatured by the Scotsman as a piece of "bird lime policy" he considered an act of aggression—a scheme promoted by Scottish ecclesiastics to win over from the Free Church the less strongly-minded members of that Communion in order to aggrandise their own. From this time his relations with the Scottish Nonconformist leaders, who were convinced by the policy of the Patronage Bill of the need for Disestablishment as a preliminary to the reconstruction of the National Presbyterianism, gradually became more sympathetic. While disclaiming any hostility to the Church of Scotland he showed himself more pronounced in his acceptance of the disestablishment plan of

settling the Scottish Church question. He expressed the hope that the change would be effected without acrimony, but rather in a friendly Christian spirit, and that when it was accomplished "we would be able to say that in this country we enjoyed the most perfect religious equality before the law, in harmony with the spirit of the age in which we live."

The Endowed Schools Bill for England, under which the control of funds intended for national objects was transferred to the Anglican Church, was another of the reactionary schemes promoted by the Government, which compelled his closer association with the Nonconformists, who at this time were making great efforts to pass their Burials Bill. He described the Government measure as promoted "in the interests of clerical schools conducted by clerical managers for clerical purposes, and for the propagandism of sectarian views"; and such a project he resisted as not only unwise and unjust, but as a reversal of the policy sanctioned by the preceding Parliament. The question of temperance reform likewise brought him into sympathetic co-operation with the social reformers who denounced the Beer and Bible alliance, and who were supporters of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill. His language on this subject never suggested any approach to the rabid fanaticism so often imputed to the earnest and impassioned advocates of temperance. He was willing to go forward step by step, and as a compromise he on one occasion suggested a trial might be given to the Gothenburg system. Anxious to relieve the earnest-minded, social, and moral reformers from the fruitless operation of "ploughing the sands"—of proposing year after year Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill without any immediate prospect of achieving any prac-

tical result—he commended to his friends the local option suggested by Mr. John Bright. He felt that there was more chance for the adoption of a measure which would give the inhabitants a direct voice in fixing the number of licences, and at the same time avoid any unnecessary or harsh interference with the liberties and rights of any one. On another occasion when the pressure of the Scottish Prohibitionists induced Sir Robert Anstruther to introduce his Intoxicating Liquors Bill as a middle and safer way of reform, he urged the expediency of the Government themselves taking up the question. The feeling in Scotland, he said, was united in favour of something being done, and he suggested the issue of a Royal Commission for the purpose of ascertaining the facts. “Let the Government,” he said, “get the information first which they had the means of securing, and then let them propose a measure justified by the results of the inquiry.”

Apart from the domestic policy of the Government, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman as an opposition critic found abundant scope and cause for hostile comment. The ill-advised Admiralty Slave circular, which compromised one of the noblest traditions of British policy by its direction to commanders of British vessels in foreign waters to surrender runaway slaves, he severely condemned. He endorsed with little qualification Mr. Gladstone’s challenge of the manner in which Mr. Disraeli had acquired the Suez Canal shares, and of the aggressive Eastern policy of which, it was a symptom. He was still more outspoken in his deprecation of the assumption of the title of Empress of India, which the Prime Minister was supposed to have induced Queen Victoria to accept. “We could not,” he said, “add to the lustre and dignity of the Crown of this realm, the most

ancient and august in Europe, by tricking it out in a brand new title." He expressed keen concern lest in the future the Prince of Wales—a name embodied and enshrined in the historical drama by our great English poet—should come to bear the title of Prince Imperial. All through the tortuous courses and evolutions of the Eastern question as affected by the revolt of the Bosnians, and the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, and Russian championship of the Slav populations, he showed his sympathy with the oppressed Christian subjects of the Porte. Discriminating between the desires and efforts of Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury to ensure the peace of Europe, and the spread of civilisation in the devastated provinces, and the declared policy of the Prime Minister to maintain the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire, he described Lord Beaconsfield as *esprit damné* of the Government, whose three favourite tones of levity, mystery, and swagger were each alike unworthy of so grave a crisis in European history. He showed himself in full sympathy with Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian campaign; and so did his Dunfermline constituents. When the veteran orator, proceeding from Dalmeny on an excursion in Perthshire, passed through Dunfermline in 1879, the whole population seemed to be assembled in the neighbourhood of the railway station to pay their tribute of admiration, and to offer their assurance of best wishes for the success of his assault on the chief Tory stronghold in Scotland, and of the cause of the liberation of the Christian population of the East, he so chivalrously championed. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was with the jubilant demonstrators on that occasion; and as he shouldered the bulky parcel of Dunfermline linen presented to Mrs. Gladstone, and bore the weighty burden across the platform, the cheering multi-

tude redoubled their applause. When the imminence of a dissolution was announced in April 1880, he promptly intimated his willingness to serve the constituency in the new Parliament. In his address he said :—

The great kindness which you have invariably shown me in the past, and for which I shall always feel grateful, induces me to hope that you will not be unwilling again to entrust your interests to my care. . . . During the last six years but little progress has been made in the great work of legislative reform, while the attention of the country has been mainly absorbed by the foreign policy of the Government. I have repeatedly given my vote against that policy, not so much on account of any individual force of judgment which it may have displayed as in condemnation of its whole tone and tendency which I deemed to be lowering to the national dignity, and injurious to our highest interests. I trust that the new Parliament will witness again the predominance of Liberal ideas, alike in domestic legislation, in current administration, and in the conduct of foreign affairs,—believing as I do by this means alone can our liberties be persevered, our prosperity fostered, and the integrity of the Empire be maintained.

The influential and representative character of the platform company, and the enthusiasm of the reception given by a crowded audience in the Music Hall were well fitted to confirm the member's confidence in the continued loyalty of the constituency. During his years in Opposition, however, his language had proved too "provocative" for some prominent citizens with Conservative tendencies who had been attracted to his platform while he was a Minister of the Crown. Moreover, party feeling in the country had been aroused to fever heat during the discussions regarding the war in South-Eastern Europe, fomented by Mr. Gladstone's sweeping denunciations of the Government's friendship for the "unspeakable Turk," Lord Derby's assertion of the principle that peace was the greatest of British interests, and Lord Beaconsfield's claim when he returned from the Berlin conference that he had brought with him

“peace with honour.” More particularly Mr. Gladstone’s assault on the stronghold of Scottish Toryism in the premier county of Midlothian had incited passionate resentment among the friends of the Duke of Buccleugh and other prominent Tories, and one of the counter strokes determined upon was the nomination of a candidate in opposition to Mr. Campbell-Bannerman in the Stirling Burghs. Sir James Gibson Maitland, the head of a wealthy Midlothian family, and the nephew of Mr. James Hunt of Pittencrieff, somewhat light-heartedly agreed to champion the Conservative cause. He soon, however, repented of his rashness. When he made his appearance at a public meeting at Dunfermline he found himself confronted with a large audience out of sympathy with his views. The reception given to him as he proceeded with his address was not by any means encouraging, but comparative failure as a platform orator was followed by a crushing discomfiture during the heckling trial which followed. The outstanding hero in that encounter was ex-Bailie Dick. A spectator of the conflict thus writes:—“The Tory candidate was a happy, good-humoured young gentleman, whose fine temper served him when his political knowledge failed. Old men who remembered James Inglis’s cross-examination of Lord Dalmeny, and more recently Thomas Morrison’s encounter with the Earl of Rosslyn when as Lord Loughborough he contested the County of Fife in the Conservative interest, said that Mr. Dick’s catechism of Gibson-Maitland equalled even these historical achievements. Mr. Dick’s performance was most masterly, searching, skilful, and good-humoured. He was greatly helped by the calls and comments of many of the keen politicians in the audience. The merriment created put the Harry Clifton hilarity at the New Year concerts

quite in the shade. The performance was a grand diversion from start to finish ” ;—and it practically put an end to Sir James Gibson-Maitland’s candidature. Returning home a wiser man, he became convinced that his effort to oust Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was not only a hopeless task but a stupendous folly, and he withdrew from the contest after the poll had been arranged and a vote had become necessary. In some quarters his personal withdrawal, while his name remained on the ballot papers, was suspected as a Conservative dodge to induce the supporters of the Liberal candidate to stay away from the poll, in the belief that their support would be unnecessary, while their opponents might make a sudden rally near the end of the day. Under this apprehension, and anxious also to give proof of their devotion to the sitting Member and to the cause he represented, the Liberals made an impressive display of their strength, and at the close of the day the result was declared to be—

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| H. Campbell-Bannerman | - - | 2906 |
| Sir J. Gibson-Maitland | - - - | 132 |

CHAPTER VII.

THE ASCENT OF THE MINISTERIAL LEADER.

“ He who would mount the ladder must begin at the bottom.” When after the electoral triumph of 1880 Mr. Gladstone formed his second administration, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was recognised as a man who could not be passed over, but he was not given a higher post than that he had formerly held. He was re-instated Financial Secretary of the War Office; this post he retained till he was transferred to the Secretaryship of the Admiralty in 1882; and in 1884 having meanwhile been elevated to the rank of Privy Councillor, he was appointed to the then, as now, extremely difficult and onerous position of Chief Secretary for Ireland. In each of these offices he displayed marked administrative capacity, commending himself alike to his colleagues and to Parliament as a man of sound judgment and outstanding business ability. If the annals of the Army and Navy were not signalised by keen Parliamentary contention during the periods the member for the Stirling Burghs was associated with the Departments, the comparative dullness was not due to lack of reforming zeal or absence of hazardous enterprises. He strenuously made practical application of the principle of efficiency with economy, for while the tendency to extravagance to which the Tories were always tempted to yield was checked, the equipment of the expeditions required for the Soudan and Central Africa to resist aggression of Mohamedanism, in South Africa to maintain the supremacy of the white man and of British power, and in Central Asia to check the advances

of Russia towards Afghanistan, gave assuring evidence of intelligent and vigilant forethought. During the varying fortunes of the Gladstonian Government the Parliament of 1880-84 the Departments of the Army and Navy were never seriously assailed on the grounds of weakness or of ineptness and unpreparedness. In a speech delivered in Dunfermline in 1883 Mr. Campbell-Bannerman chivalrously attributed this good record to the character and services of his chiefs. It had been, he said, his good fortune to be associated in administration with men like Lord Cardwell, Mr. Childers, one of the shrewdest and quickest men he had ever dealt with, and Lord Northbrook, a noble example of a man with great artistic tastes, who had devoted himself to public life.

The Imperial interests which claimed his personal attention did not, however, so fully occupy his mind as to cause him to overlook the local interests of his constituents. In the same speech he gave proof of the continued vigilance of his sympathetic concern in the well-being of Dunfermline by describing the improvements and advances in civic and social life effected during the fifteen years he had been connected with the city as its Parliamentary representative. He congratulated the citizens on the ornamentation of their Public Park, their acquisition of a Public Library through the generosity of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, their introduction of an abundant supply of pure water from the clear winding Devon, and the preservation of a high standard of public health. As a Liberal believing in the principle of equality of opportunity for all classes, he spoke an earnest word in commendation of the development of the High School, then a burning and a dividing question in the community. If, he said, a working man had a clever boy the door was now open

to him, which led from the Elementary to the High School, and then to the University, and he appealed to his working men friends to make use of the attractive opportunities which had been provided. Nor did he forget to pay a tribute to the patriotic service of the municipal chiefs with whom he had been brought into contact, naming in succession Provosts Whitelaw, Robertson, Reid, Mathieson, Walls, and Donald.

While arduously striving to make the fighting services efficient, he was careful to dissociate himself from all sympathy with aggressive Imperialism. In one of his Dunfermline speeches in 1882 he justified the policy of the Government's withdrawal from Afghanistan, and described the attempt to force the direct rule of Britain on the Boers as a disastrous blunder—adding that more had been done to promote the prosperity of our South African Colonies by the manly withdrawal from a false position than by any triumph of our armies in the field.

Naturally as his influence and authority as a statesman became more commanding, an increasing demand was made for his services in other constituencies. He was never a victim of the *cacoethes loquendi*, and he rather shrank from than coveted platform work. Still, in spite of his natural aversion from notoriety he found that the claims made upon him in recognition of his growing Parliamentary authority, and of his brightening prospect as "a coming man" could not be wholly ignored. In October 1881 he was one of the chief speakers at a demonstration in Dundee, at which an address was presented to Lord Rosebery. In this address he scathingly condemned the obstructive tactics of the Parnellites and the Fourth Party. "The noblest representative body in the world," was, he said, "thwarted and insulted

by men who did not conceal the fact that their object was to degrade and defile it. We saw introduced into it the manners of the mob and the tap-room. We see its leader, the foremost Englishman of his day who has occupied a conspicuous position in Parliament, and before the world for well nigh fifty years, treated with personal insolence by men whose Parliamentary experience could be counted by hours." He pleaded for a reform of the rules of procedure, not merely to ensure the preservation of the good name of the Mother of Parliaments, but also as a means of accelerating progress with reforms long over due; and keeping these aims in view he remarked—"We have heard of the tyrant who wished that his enemies had one head that he might cut it off. I wish I could gather into one current all the zeal, all the steadfastness, all the sound sense, all the enthusiasm of this meeting, and bring that current to play upon the question of reforming the procedure of Parliament."

Addressing a large public meeting of his fellow citizens in Glasgow in the following month, held under the auspices of the Glasgow Junior Liberal Association, he made an inspiring appeal to his youthful auditors to prize and guard the inheritance bequeathed to them by their fathers;—"They had a glorious constitution, for which they had to thank the party whose traditions they inherited, the traditions of freedom, equality and justice. Some of them might have read a description of the torch race when the lamps, which were held in the competitors' hands, were passed from one to another. Let it be the business of that association not only to keep the light in the lamps which had come down to them from their fathers, but to hand them down with the light undimmed to generations yet unborn."

Forward and upward continued to be his watchwords ; and next year when rendering the annual account of his stewardship he foreshadowed a further democratic advance stimulated and guided by the earnest spirit, the intellectual force, the clear insight, the weighty experience of the great leader ;—“ Let,” he said, “ the hon. member husband his strength. *Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.* We are on the eve of a fresh embarkation, on a new political voyage, under his guidance. We are all confident that the nerve and firmness of the hand which steered us among the currents and shallows for the past three years will not fail us in the future.”

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman did not take a leading part in the movement which resulted in the establishment of a Scottish Secretary of State, but though not a prominent pioneer, he used his influence in favour of the change. He spoke to his constituents in warm commendation of the Local Government (Scotland) Bill introduced by Sir William Harcourt, then Home Secretary. Sir William himself he described as a friend and warm admirer of Scotland. Doubtless he was led to offer this testimony by his knowledge of his colleague’s vivid remembrance of his election contest in the Kirkcaldy Burghs in the earliest days of his political career. A proposal, however, to associate himself with Kirkcaldy when a Scottish Redistribution of Seats scheme, devised by Lord Advocate Balfour was under consideration caused him considerable embarrassment. Under this scheme it was proposed that Dunfermline should be detached politically from Stirling, and be grouped with Kirkcaldy into a more compact constituency. The re-arrangement, though welcomed in Stirling, was not acceptable to Dunfermline, and the Burgh Member with his services

claimed by both sections found himself in the position of the embarrassed lover who said—"How happy could I be with either were t'other dear charmer away." Writing to Mr. Ireland the Secretary of the Dunfermline Liberal Association, he said:—"I assure you that the whole situation has given me much concern, as I see which ever way it is settled, one half or other of my constituency would be disappointed and annoyed, and owing to its division of interest I could give no help to either." This hesitating attitude—doubtless due to prudential motives—somewhat surprised the Dunfermline electors, who had imagined that their Member would have had no difficulty in casting in his lot with the detached eastern half of the historical Stirling Burghs group. The *Journal* assured him that he would be as heartily welcomed in Kirkcaldy as he was supported in Dunfermline. Happily for both members and constituents the redistribution scheme fell through, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was able to retain his old connection without having given offence either to Stirling or Dunfermline by a premature choice.

In the four Burghs the Liberal electors found it easy to unite with their member in support of the bill for the equalisation of the county with the burgh franchise, and in the agitation for a reform of the House of Lords inspired by the resistance of the Peers to the Government measure. One of the most enthusiastic of the many popular demonstrations organised in Scotland was that held in Dunfermline in August, 1884. The trades people formed an imposing and picturesque procession, displaying flags and ensigns, and emblems of the different crafts. Bailie Walker, as a loyal henchman of the Burgh Member, and an enthusiastic upholder of the traditional democratic faith of the Burgh, con-

tributed not a little to the success of this popular demonstration, and his work people rivalling the political ardour of their employer, showed a beautiful flag bearing a legend suggested by the driving power of one of the formidable beetling machines of their bleaching establishment :—

If Gladstone cannot make them yield,
Just send them down to Egin field;
We'll beetle at the Lords, until
We make them pass the Franchise Bill.

Writing from Marienbad the Burgh Member sent a letter, saying :—“ It is absurd that the Second Chamber should be worked as it has been for some time as a mere part of the machinery of the Tory Party, *i.e.*, of the party that has a chronic minority in the country. The result of this state of things is that measures had to be mutilated and adapted even in their first plan and conception with a view to their having any chance of passing the Lords, and even after this careful preparation, and possibly concessions being forced upon us in the Commons, the Bills which may receive the full approbation of a Lower House may be summarily rejected at the bidding of Lord Salisbury. We have been so long accustomed to this state of things that we may not easily realise its absurdity, but the matter has now been brought to a point by the recent open declaration of war on the part of the Tory Peers, and I hope we shall not rest until this great source of delay and disappointments in reforms and of obstruction of legislation is finally settled.”

As already indicated, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman did not mince his words of censure and reprobation when he spoke of the tactics of the Parnellite obstructionists. He was equally unrestrained and emphatic in condemning the terrorism practised by the Land League, although he attri-

buted the excess committed "not to the peasantry, but to some loose, ill-conditioned, untraceable persons." He justified the arrest of Mr. Parnell and other prominent members of the Land League, and their imprisonment in Kilmainham, when the Executive gave effect to Mr. Gladstone's warning that the resources of civilisation were not so far exhausted as not to make possible the supremacy of law instead of lawlessness in Ireland. He was as resolute, however, in his support of equalising and healing as of repressive measures, and when the question of the franchise was practically dealt with in 1884 he ranged himself on the side of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright in favour of the extension of the reform to Ireland against the views of the Marquis of Hartington and several other more conservatively inclined members of the Government. His attitude on this subject caused some disquietude to members of the Liberal Committee in Dunfermline who had listened with approval to his condemnation of boycotting and other devices of Land League tyranny. Asked by the Secretary, Mr. Ireland, how he could justify the extension of the franchise to Ireland where disloyalty seemed rampant, he assured them they had everything to gain and nothing to lose by admitting Irish people to the same rights and privileges as themselves without showing any jealous or grudging spirit towards them. He playfully added that from his knowledge of Mr. Ireland he was sure that gentleman would be willing to give his namesake the advantage they in Scotland possessed.

At this meeting as at many others confidence in the further exaltation of the member's ministerial rank was expressed. Concern was, however, mingled with gratification when in October 1884 Mr. Gladstone resolved to transfer Mr. Campbell-Bannerman from the Admiralty to the Chief

Secretaryship of Ireland, which men of outstanding ability like Mr. Forster and Mr. Trevelyan had found beyond their strength and wisdom. In his address, dated October 22, 1884, announcing his appointment, and asking for re-election, he said:—

Gentlemen,—It is my duty to inform you that I have accepted the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and I trust that you will approve of the step which I have taken.

I am well aware of the arduous duties attached to this honourable office, and it is with sincere diffidence that I have undertaken to do my best to discharge them. My steadfast aim and earnest desire will be to render such service as I can in promoting the welfare of the Irish people, in the administration of whose affairs I am called to take part.

My seat being thus vacated, I beg to ask you to confer upon me the favour of again returning me as your representative. The friendly confidence which you have extended to me during so many years, with a kindness for which I cannot be sufficiently grateful, leads me to hope that you may be disposed to leave your Parliamentary interests in my hands.

My political opinions are so well known to you that I need not recapitulate them; but I may say that my attachment to and belief in Liberal principles have become stronger and stronger as my political experience has increased. With regard to the great question of the day, I hope that the unmistakeable indication that has been given during the last three months of the overwhelming feeling of the country may induce those who have hitherto resisted the immediate extension of the suffrage in the counties to abandon their opposition. If, however, they persist in delaying this great measure of justice, it will become necessary to take such steps as shall not only enforce the passing of the Franchise Bill but prevent the recurrence of similar obstruction to useful and progressive legislation.

If you are pleased to favour me with a renewal of your confidence I need not say that I shall do my utmost to deserve it.

Three days afterwards he supplemented this letter by a note to Provost Donald, in which he said:—“My dear Provost,—I trust that the constituency will not think me in any degree wanting in respect to them, if I ask them to excuse my personal attendance on the occasion of the present

election. I have, as you may imagine, a great deal of public business on hand, and my presence here is of importance. I would, therefore, venture, while placing myself at the disposal of my friends to express the hope that this indulgence may be extended to me, and I shall be deeply sensible of their kindness."

The Provost replied stating:—"There is not the slightest appearance of any necessity for you giving yourself any trouble about your return to Parliament. The people here are aware your presence is very necessary in the House of Commons at present, and believe me there is not so much as a whisper of discontent." Provost Donald's estimate of the feeling of the constituency was completely justified. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was returned without the slightest opposition, and without requiring to leave his official post to promote his candidature.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE POLICY OF THE BIG UMBRELLA.

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman did not find the office of Chief Secretary a bed of down any more than Mr. Foster or Sir George Trevelyan had done. He was not long installed in office before he had experience of the rasping tongue of one of the ablest and most uncompromising of the Nationalist members. Mr. Healy, in addressing a meeting of the Irish League in Glasgow in December, 1884, vigorously condemned his selection as a Scotsman to administer the affairs of Ireland. "How would Scotsmen," he asked, "like to be ruled by an Irishman sent over from the sister island—an Irishman, it might be, whom they greatly admired, himself, for instance?" "They would not," he remarked, "enjoy it as a joke, and yet he ventured to say he had as much knowledge of Scotland as Mr. Campbell-Bannerman had of Ireland." He tartly added "Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was one of those who had the insufferable egotism for the sake of a couple of thousands a year to go over and pretend to rule five millions of people, not one of whom they saw before, on whose shores they had never landed, and of whose history and feelings they were entirely ignorant."

In the House of Commons he was subjected almost nightly to a great deal of irritating badgering, but even Mr. Healy and his clever and persistent associates never succeeded in driving him into a corner, and still less into a rage. His unflinching good humour won for himself the respect and admiration of the House generally, but it baffled his Nationalist critics in their efforts to identify British adminis-

tration either with injustice to the Irish people, or with lack of sympathy to them in their distresses, while he firmly maintained the authority of the law and made the ways of outrage workers hazardous and hard.

Mr. Healy himself with a touch of sardonic humour confessed his inability to make any impression on what he described as the pachydermatous hide of the Scottish-Irish Secretary, and remarked that his plan was "to govern Irishmen by Scotch jokes." Mr. Parnell, too, at a later date evidently with an echo of Mr. Healy's jibe in his mind is reported to have said in answer to Mr. Barry O'Brien's observation that Campbell-Bannerman was a very good fellow, and made about as good an Irish Secretary as any of them. "Yes, I daresay he is a very good fellow, and as an Irish Secretary he left things alone, a sensible thing for an Irish Secretary." On another occasion in a railway conversation with Lord Ribblesdale, the Irish leader said "Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was the man they could not stand; no impression could ever be made on him." He tried to remember "something about a bull's hide and brazen front" which had been applied to the Minister, and in endorsing the estimate of his colleague remarked—"It was very good, but I never remember poetry."

Though remarkably successful in self-restraint and in the constancy with which he associated a conciliatory temper with a firm administration of the law, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman really suffered a good deal more than his appearance or conduct indicated. Certainly he did not enjoy his position. While the Nationalists in the prosecution of their policy of seeking to make confusion worse confounded were obliged to confess that they found Mr. Campbell-Bannerman a very tough customer, he did not conceal from his friends

that he found the Secretaryship a very rough place, and it is highly probably that the anxieties to which he was exposed seriously injured his health. The resignation of the Gladstone Government in the spring of 1885, after a defeat on the Budget proposals, but really on account of dissensions which had broken out both in the Cabinet and in the Liberal Party was a genuine relief to the much harassed, though successful Minister.

The brief rest which followed on the accession of a Salisbury administration in June, was gratefully welcomed by him, and the need for recuperation doubtless helped him in his desire to keep aloof from the cabals and the schemes which for a time threatened the Liberal Party with disruption. The temporary withdrawal of Mr. Gladstone from the active duties of the Liberal leadership on account of an affection of the throat and voice was used by Mr. Chamberlain and his friends as an opportunity for conducting a political agitation on the lines of an advanced, or, as many moderate-minded men thought, a revolutionary Liberalism. The pushful and outspoken Member for Birmingham described the Salisbury Government as a "Cabinet of Caretakers"; he sneered at Lord Hartington as the "Political Rip Van Winkle." The "Rest and be Thankful" Whig of the type commended by the late Lord Russell was caricatured by him as "The Arm Chair Politician," and Mr. Goschen he ridiculed as the "Egyptian Skeleton" of the Liberal Party. By and bye Mr. Chamberlain's "Unauthorised Programme" was set aside by a manifesto from Mr. Gladstone and the re-appearance of the veteran leader in the field with a policy designed to re-unite the party of progress and reform, happily described by Lord Rosebery as "The Big Umbrella" plan.

When Lord Salisbury, finding it impossible to carry on his administration in the face of a hostile majority in the Commons asked for a mandate from the electors, Mr. Gladstone pushed aside some of the reforms demanded by Liberationists and the supporters of Mr. Jesse Collings' "Three acres and a cow" panacea for rural and agricultural distress, and placed the Irish Question in the forefront. He earnestly appealed to the country for an overwhelming Liberal majority which would enable him to deal with Home Rule independently of Nationalist support, and in a way which would work for the pacification of the Irish people, and the maintenance of the unity of the Empire against its avowed enemies.

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman when he met his constituents as a candidate for re-election, extended the "Big Umbrella." He sought to harmonise both the authorised and unauthorised programmes with his own consistently professed creed. He showed himself as resolute as Mr. Chamberlain in the advocacy of Free Trade principles, and though he left no room for doubt as to his admiration for and loyalty to Mr. Gladstone, striving for the recovery of Liberal unity and supremacy, he showed no inclination to put in the background the progressive reforms which he had consistently advocated. Thus while the Liberal chief relegated to "the dim and distant courses of the future," the question of Disestablishment, the Member for the Stirling Burghs, when questioned on the subject, frankly declared, "My opinion is that the time has come when the Church of Scotland and the Church of England may be disestablished. I held that opinion when I came before you as a candidate 17 years ago, and I have not budged from it one inch." While Mr. Gladstone discouraged the application of the principle of

free education or any expectation of an early abolition of the House of Lords, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman made a full re-statement of his political creed, in which he spoke of the abolition of fees as one of the inevitable results of compulsory education, and in the interests of overdue reforms advocated not only a drastic alteration of the rules of the Lower Chamber, but a complete reconstitution of the House of Lords. While he sought not to rule out of the party any of the old leaders, he was equally careful not to discourage any of the aspirations of social and moral reformers, and to give full play to the application of the Liberal policy of equal opportunities for all.

Conscious of his personal increasing authority as a political leader, he did not on the occasion of the election in October 1885 confine his address to the electors to a few formal sentences, but made a clear and full re-statement of his principles and hopes for the consideration of his fellow-countrymen as well as for his constituents. The full text of his address is here produced :—

To the Electors of the Stirling District of Burghs—

Gentlemen, The dissolution of Parliament being about to discharge me from the honourable function of your representative, I beg, with great respect and with the warmest sense of your past kindness and consideration, to offer myself for election to serve in the same capacity in the new House of Commons.

I venture to hope that my public conduct during 17 years has been such as to merit your general approval. But I do not found my claim to your favour upon the fact of our long association so much as upon the substantial community of opinion on all public questions which I believe to subsist between us.

I am not aware that I have departed in any particular from the profession of political faith which I made on the occasion of my first election. I then declared myself in favour of household suffrage in counties; of the ballot; of a national and compulsory system of education; of complete religious equality, involving the disestablishment of the

Church; of representative county government; of the abolition of the laws of entail and primogeniture; of a simplified form of land transfer; and of investing localities with the direct control of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquor.

During the years which have since elapsed—a period made up of two-thirds of reforming energy under Liberal Government, and one-third of legislative supineness under a Tory Government—many of these reforms have been achieved; while others which then seemed equally needed, remain unaccomplished. This delay in the work of legislation is mainly due to two causes, viz. :—obstruction in the House of Commons, and the opposition, direct or indirect, of the House of Lords, which fails, as at present constituted, to sympathise with the general feeling of the country. I would, therefore, add to the unfulfilled elements of my former programme a drastic alteration of the rules of the Lower Chamber, and the complete reconstitution of the Upper.

My views on the land question are governed by the principle that property in land is held subject to the consideration of the general interests of the community, and that the State is entitled to dictate, from time to time, the conditions on which the soil is possessed. I believe that in these days of multiplied sources of foreign supply we have paid too exclusive an attention to the object of securing the utmost amount of produce from the soil, and have too little regarded that of maintaining the largest number of our people in comfortable subsistence upon the soil. Any reasonable legislation for the latter object shall have my support.

I have always looked upon the abolition of fees for education as one of the ultimate and natural accompaniments of a law of compulsory attendance.

My recent connection with the Government of Ireland has only served to increase my appreciation of the difficulties to be met by those who administer the affairs of that country. I am desirous of seeing at the earliest possible moment, a large extension of local self-government in Ireland; but I would give no countenance to the scheme of those who seek to injure this country, as they would assuredly ruin their own, by separation under one name or another.

I am strongly opposed to a meddling foreign policy, and I earnestly hope that our interference in Egypt, into which the late Government was inevitably, though not reluctantly, drawn, will soon be brought to an end.

I venture to hope that you will again accept the offer of my services, and I promise that I shall spare no effort to deserve your kindness.

I am, gentlemen, your grateful and obedient servant,

H. Campbell-Bannerman.

6 Grosvenor Place,
London, S.W., 15th October, 1885.

The comprehensiveness of the political faith of the Member and the catholicity of judgment among the leaders of the party for which he pleaded commended him anew to the stalwart politicians of his constituents as a man in earnest about the reforms and the application of the principles which had long interested them. The "hecklers" could find no fault in him, and the Conservatives perceived that they had no chance of organising any opposition to him that would have the slightest hope of success. Provost Donald, who presided at a crowded meeting, was supported by a large and an influential platform company; and the vote of confidence proposed by ex-Provost Walls, and seconded by Mr. David Boag, was carried without a single dissident. Some keen partisans outside of the Burghs urged the nomination of a Conservative candidate, if only for the purpose of keeping the ex-Minister employed in his own constituency, and outside of other constituencies who welcomed his effective advocacy. This counsel, however, received little local support, and once again he was both honoured and favoured with an unopposed election.

Many of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's colleagues fell in the battle as the result of the internal discords to which reference has already been made, and of the Parnellite plan of combat which directed Irishmen in every constituency in the United Kingdom to vote Tory rather than Liberal, for the express purpose of defeating Mr. Gladstone's effort to secure a majority that would make him independent of the Irish Nationalists at Westminster. No fewer than twelve members of the former Liberal administration lost their seats from the causes just stated, among them Mr. Childers and Mr. Shaw Lefevre; and though very largely as the result of a rally in the counties in response to the Chamberlain land law propagandism, the Liberals at the close of

the day numbered 333, the Conservatives (251) and the Parnellites (86) combined outnumbered the Liberals by 4. Some rumours obtained circulation that Mr. Gladstone intended to attract the Parnellite support by conceding the principle of Home Rule, while the speeches of Lord Hartington, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Goschen indicated pretty plainly that they would never consent to make terms with what Mr. Bright, in the keenness of his disappointment as an old friend of Ireland, had by this time described as a "rebel party."



Provost Walls

CHAPTER IX.

THE HOME RULE SPLIT.

When Mr. Gladstone formed his Home Rule administration in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was transferred from the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland to the office of Secretary of State for War. For this position his earlier service as Financial Secretary for the Department had commended him to Mr. Gladstone; and though his political sympathies were always more with the Peace Society than with the military sentiment, the charge of the administration of the War Office was possibly not wholly unacceptable or uncongenial to him as an early officer in the Volunteer force who had been present at the memorable review of the citizen soldiers of Scotland by Queen Victoria in the Queen's Park, Edinburgh, in 1860. The friendly reception he gave to a deputation of officers who waited upon him shortly after his installation, asking for an increase of the Government grant, afforded pleasing evidence that the interest he showed in the movement in its earlier days remained unabated.

In his address in February on his appointment as Secretary for War, he expressed the hope that in encountering difficulties almost unexampled Mr. Gladstone would receive the generous support of patriotic men throughout the country. "From my previous experience in the War Department," he said, "I know how onerous are the duties which with much diffidence I have undertaken, and I can only promise to spare no effort to serve the country faithfully in the administration of its Army." He was returned unopposed and without needing to address a meeting,

receiving the congratulations of Stirling and Dunfermline Town Councils and of Mr. Carnegie on his appointment as a Cabinet Minister, as well as of the Liberal Association.

This generous confidence was all the more noteworthy because by this time a feeling of uneasiness regarding the attitude of the Liberal leader to Irish Home Rule had begun to make its appearance among some of his hitherto staunchest friends in Dunfermline, but any misgivings as to the Member's position as a colleague of Mr. Gladstone which may have been felt were overcome by appreciation of his growing fame and authority certified by his elevation to the rank of Cabinet Minister. Accordingly, in the hope that some plan of settlement which would allay the apprehensions of Liberals concerned for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, would be found by the statesmanship of Mr. Gladstone and of Mr. John Morley, who had been appointed to the Irish Secretaryship with a seat in the Cabinet, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's seat was unchallenged.

As the discussions proceeded the divergencies among the Liberal leaders became more pronounced. When Mr. Gladstone introduced his twin measures of Home Rule and Land Purchase in prosecution of his pacificatory policy, the distrust and dislike which drove hitherto conflicting sections of Liberalism, such as those represented by Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen, Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, into united opposition to Mr. Gladstone's policy, operated also among not a few of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's supporters, formerly ardent supporters in the Stirling Burghs. In this constituency, as in other parts of Scotland, the hostility was accentuated by the alienation of life-long advocates of religious equality, caused by Mr. Gladstone's unexpected refusal to admit Scottish Disestablishment into his pro-

gramme in 1885. Hence it was that ardent Voluntaries, and men who were influenced by Chartist traditions, found themselves to their surprise in political association with Whigs of the type described by Sir James Ramsay of Banff as politicians who recognised that their chief duty was to place spokes in the wheels of the Liberal coach.

Perhaps the keenest of the Dunfermline Unionists, however, were those who in their warm friendship for their Member had resented the provocations and insults he had received from the Nationalist members while he discharged the duties of Irish Secretary, and who were led from genuine sympathy with their Member in his trials and harassments to form a very low opinion of his virulent assailants;—just as Mr. Bright was influenced against Mr. Parnell and his associates by their persistent and merciless baiting of the veteran Liberal leader, even when he was securing for the Irish people equality of treatment with Englishmen and Scotsmen in respect of the franchise. They could not understand how Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, after having suffered so much abuse at the hands of the Nationalists, and after he had spoken so strongly in condemnation of the outrages incited by the Irish Land League, should welcome his chief's Home Rule policy as a means of "salvation." Their faith in him as a pure-minded public servant received a shock, and they began to suspect that after all he was not quite free from the spirit of the office-seeker. For

To fall out with those we love
Doth work like madness in the brain.

The phrase "I have found salvation," so often imputed to Mr. Campbell-Bannerman in after years, was certainly never used by him in any of his addresses to his con-

stituents. Indeed, there is reason to believe that he was not the author of the words almost universally fathered upon him. Sir Edward Russell has thus explained the origin of the phrase and of the story :—Mr. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Mundella were talking in the lobby. Mr. Mundella said :—“Well, waiting till now, I have come to the conclusion that Home Rule has got to be accepted, and that, and that alone, can clear everything up.” Mr. Campbell-Bannerman replied :—“Yes, you’re just in the position of a man who in the language of the Salvation Army has found Jesus. He has been in great perplexity and distress, and when he goes through this operation that the Salvation Army so describes he feels that everything is made straight and right by this one thing.” These were his words, and he was greatly amazed when the next time Mundella spoke he said that his friend, Campbell-Bannerman, had declared that he had found salvation long ago.

Mr. Gladstone’s new policy, however, brought not salvation, but overthrow to the Liberal Government and to the party. Many of his most intimate friends and political associates, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Hartington, Lord Selborne, Lord Northbrook, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, Mr. Courtney, and to his greatest surprise and sorrow Mr. Bright, and after some hesitation Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan found it impossible to follow the leader who in happier times had been the trusted head of the Cabinet of all the Talents ; and joined with the undivided Conservative party under Lord Salisbury, in forming an Anti-Home Rule or Unionist Coalition. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman stood by the old chief and the new policy, and when a defeat of the Government by a majority of thirty necessitated a fresh appeal to the country on the single question of Home Rule

the War Secretary explained his views and position in the following address to his constituents seeking re-election as a promoter of Irish peace as indispensable to the welfare not only of Ireland, but of the United Kingdom and of the Empire with Irish subjects in every community and in every Colony :—

To the Electors of the Stirling District of Burghs—
Gentlemen,

In view of the impending dissolution of Parliament, I beg most respectfully to offer myself again as a candidate for the honour of representing you.

I am deeply sensible of the kindness and consideration with which I have been invariably treated by your constituency during the five Parliaments in which it has been my pride to enjoy your confidence, and I trust that my public conduct during that long period, and the part I have taken in political life, have been such as to merit your approval.

You are so familiar with my opinions on particular points of policy that I need not recapitulate them now.

My experience in your service has, in a constantly increasing degree, strengthened my attachment to those advanced Liberal principles which I have from the first professed.

I believe that the most direct, as well as the safest, way by which we can seek to promote the welfare of our countrymen, is by the establishment of complete civil and religious equality, by removing the special privileges of classes or of individuals, by extending self-government, and by frankly inviting, not only in theory but in practice, the full co-operation of all classes of the people.

It is in obedience to these principles that, on the question of the government of Ireland, which is still the main question before the country, I support the policy of Home Rule, which I am convinced will conduce to the good government of that country, the contentment of the Irish people, and the strength of the Empire, while at the same time greatly increasing the efficiency of the Liberal Parliament by relieving it of its duties regarding exclusively Irish business. During the last six years I have done my best in upholding this opinion and in opposing the old alternative policy of repression which the Tory Government has pursued. In the adaptation of our Parliamentary system to the new policy there will necessarily be difficulties and inconveniences which must be encountered, but these are as nothing in comparison with the benefits which may reasonably be expected to follow from it to Ireland herself and to her relations with the Empire, in the creation and maintenance of which her children have borne so large a part.

I will seek by public meetings the opportunity of further explaining to you my views on all public questions, and in the meantime, I remain, gentlemen, with sincere respect and gratitude, your obedient faithful servant,

H. Campbell-Bannerman.

Belmont Castle, Meikle, June 21st, 1892.

When he came to Dunfermline the War Secretary found that locally as well as imperially the Liberal party was shattered. Prominent citizens who had hitherto shown themselves proud to be ranked among his supporters deserted his platform, and made common cause with life-long Conservatives under the title of Unionists. They were supplied with an influential candidate in the person of Mr. John Pender, a wealthy merchant and generous-minded man who had had a somewhat chequered career as a politician in West Lothian, in the Wick Burghs, and elsewhere, while he continued to have many friends at Westminster. On the other hand, most of the old Stalwarts remained staunch in their support of the Member, and they were joined by a number of younger men who in this contest found an opportunity of winning their spurs as political knights. The public meetings, too, demonstrated that popular sympathy was in the main with the Gladstonian Liberal as it was when he first made his entrance into the constituency. While the Campbell-Bannerman meeting, over which Provost Donald presided, unanimously and enthusiastically passed a vote of confidence, Mr. Pender encountered a decidedly hostile reception when he addressed the Dunfermline electors. According to the *Journal* report, "Mr. Pender did not seem to have more than 100 supporters out of a meeting of 1200." In the Unionist ranks, however, were not a few men of "light and leading," and the sitting Member found it necessary

to display an electioneering activity as great as that he showed in his first electoral campaign in 1868. In the end more fortunate than most of his political colleagues, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman retained his seat by a substantial majority. The poll for the four Burghs was:—

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| Campbell-Bannerman | - | - | - | - | - | 2400 |
| Pender | - | - | - | - | - | 1471 |
| | | | | | | — |
| Majority | - | - | - | - | - | 929 |

A full half of his majority came from Dunfermline alone, where the poll was:—For Campbell-Bannerman, 1246; for Mr. Pender, 600.

The Unionists, though thus signally defeated maintained their organisation and their political hostility. As the years passed, during which the Liberals were kept in opposition, he never failed to receive a cordial welcome in Dunfermline, and to be assured of continued confidence after he had rendered an account of his stewardship. But with all his fidelity in service and all his adroitness when in conference with his constituents he failed to break down the Unionist opposition, and until 1906 he required to put forth strenuous efforts to retain his seat. In 1892 the poll was:—H. Campbell-Bannerman (L.) 2791; W. Hughes (U.) 1695; majority, 1096. In 1895:—H. Campbell-Bannerman (L.) 2783; S. M'Caskey (U) 1656; majority, 1127. In 1900:—H. Campbell-Bannerman (L.) 2715; Colonel O. T. Duke (U) who proved the most formidable opponent the Member ever met, 2085; majority, 630. Colonel Duke was doubtless assisted by the war sentiment which so strongly prevailed throughout the country at the time of what was known as the "khaki" election.

The persistence of this opposition was due, of course,

to the irreconcilability of the views of the two parties. While the Liberal Unionists became hardened in their antipathy to Home Rule and confirmed in their alliance with the Conservatives, the Member never flinched in his advocacy of the Gladstonian policy and of the democratic progressive principles he had professed from the beginning of his connection with the Burghs. At his first "stewardship" meeting after the split, held in January, 1887, he unequivocally maintained his fidelity to the Home Rule cause, the essential principle of which he defined as a degree of autonomy that should satisfy the national sentiment of his people. Provost Donald on that occasion certified that though there might be differences of political opinion in the community, they had the satisfaction of knowing they had in their representative a substantial and honest man who delivered speeches, interesting, solid and weighty, such as few Members of Parliament could give. At Culross the Member spoke sympathetically of Scottish Home Rule, but maintained that the Irish question was more urgent; while at South Queensferry he identified the Liberal creed with an intelligent loyalty, remarking "under the old monarchy under which we had lived and flourished for so many generations we have all the advantages and escape some of the evils, of a Republic." In the following November he confined himself almost entirely to a discussion of the Irish question, which, he said, continued to hold the field; and Ex-Bailie Inglis, who moved the vote of confidence, which was seconded by Bailie Walker, expressed his belief that the Gladstone policy was the only one calculated to bring peace, contentment and prosperity to Ireland. The Hon. R. Preston Bruce, who was present at this meeting, taking note of certain signs of a change of attitude on the part

of the Unionist Ministers now that they were charged with the responsibility of governing Ireland, remarked that the Tories had not forgotten the way to steal clothes, and that they might before long surprise the country by producing a Home Rule measure.



Provost Scobie.

CHAPTER X.

EDUCATING HIS CONSTITUENTS.

Mr. Disraeli educated the Tory party into an acceptance of household suffrage because he recognised the irresistibility of the democratic advance, and desired to instruct and attract the masses to constitutional principles. When the democracy was enfranchised Mr. Lowe preached the doctrine:—"We must educate our masters." During the whole period of his connection with the Stirling Burghs Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, while singularly free from anything like pedagogic arrogance strove to keep his constituents well informed on the political questions of the day, and to confirm them in the democratic principles they had inherited from their fathers.

A cursory review of his addresses to his constituents during the period he was making his influence increasingly felt at Westminster and throughout the country as a critic of Unionist policy both at home and abroad, and as a Parliamentary leader of the Progressive parties which he sought to unify will suffice to indicate the nature of the instruction he supplied.

In 1889 he took occasion to recapitulate the articles of his democratic creed with respect to labour, education, local government, one man one vote, and at the same time kept in the forefront his sense of the urgency of the Irish problem and his lack of sympathy with the devices of the jingoes who endeavoured to divert public attention from overdue social reforms by the incitement of a national defence scare. In the same year he had the pleasure of welcoming in Dunfermline a number of leading Liberals, including Mr. J.

B. Balfour and Mr. Marjoribanks, along with Mr. Sullivan, a prominent member of the Irish Nationalist Party. At an enthusiastic demonstration, over which Lord Elgin presided, he in the fulness of his confidence and pride in his constituents' devotion to Liberal principles asked the large concourse to show his friends what Dunfermline meant by "Torryburn hail." The response was a loud and prolonged cheer in token of Liberal unity and loyalty quite as emphatic as any fusillade of "Kentish fire," with its three times three and one more, which any of them might have witnessed at Orange gatherings in other parts of the country.

When he visited his constituents in the following year in December, 1890, he was reminded of the slumbering hostility of former friends who had passed into the Unionist ranks, but the catechism to which he was subjected instead of causing him trouble brought confusion to his wily interrogators. Asked if it were not the case that the aim of the Irish members had all along been to have complete national independence, he answered with characteristic shrewdness:—"I have heard that said by some people, but I never heard it said by the Irish members themselves." The unabashed heckler continuing his profitless examination sought to put him in a corner by asking:—"Is it the case that in 1886 you asked the acceptance of the Home Rule Bill on the ground that it was accepted by the Nationalist Party, and that it would effect a re-union of hearts?" "I am of the same opinion still," quietly answered the member, and his sympathetic audience laughed as they saw the rash Unionist questioner left in the hole he had dug for the champion of the cause of Irish pacification and of genuine Imperial unity.

As already indicated his succession of platform triumphs in contests challenged by his local Unionist critics did not

save him from opposition at the elections of 1892, 1895, and 1900, but though the Unionists did their utmost first to convert him to their view and then to dislodge him from his seat because he was unrepentant, they did not fail in courtesy to him as an honest and honourable politician who brought credit to the constituency. They refrained from challenging his return on his appointment to the office of War Secretary, and when Mr. R. E. Walker, with whom he had held friendly intercourse in earlier days, but who became a resolute Unionist, succeeded to the Provostship of the burgh, he as Chief Magistrate had no hesitation in accepting the call to preside at the annual stewardship meeting in 1894. Highly valuing this courtesy the Member also showed his warm appreciation of the character of his personal friend, who had become his keen political opponent. He had known Provost Walker, he said, for a great many years, and had always admired and esteemed him. He knew his energy, his intelligence and his public spirit, and he felt certain the citizens had in him a most admirable successor to that line of Provosts, of whom they might well be proud.

The interchange of personal courtesies, however, in no way affected the political attitude of the two gentlemen, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman certainly did not modify his proclamation of democratic doctrine because he had a Unionist Provost in the chair. He avowed unflinching adherence to the comprehensive programme of reforms which Mr. Gladstone had sketched at Newcastle. He contended they were no mere string of disconnected propositions put forward for tactical or wire-pulling purposes, but were expressive of an honest promise of Liberal reforms. In view of the fulness of this legislative programme he pointed to the need for dealing with the House of Lords.

“The present relation of the two houses to each other (he said) is indefensible in theory—that in this country we do not so very much care about—but we see it is also mischievous in its effect. It has been so ever since the end of those happy and halcyon days in which the same class which now dominates the House of Lords dominated the House of Commons. It has been a growing evil, increasing with the growing intellect of the electorate, and increasing also with the more perfectly representative character of the House of Commons. And now when the year is not long enough for the work demanded for the House of Commons, that we should subject that House to the chance of obstruction by a hostile Upper Chamber is, to put it plainly, intolerable.”

When he met his constituents in November, 1896, the Member for the Burgh wore another alias. The Henry Campbell of 1868, who some years afterwards became Henry Campbell-Bannerman, had by this time become familiar to them as Sir Henry. They were not, however, satisfied with the G.C.B. distinction. One of his oldest and staunchest friends, Dr. Morris, suggested amidst the applause of his auditors that he must have been somewhat lax in the assertion of his personal claims, otherwise he would have been either Speaker or Leader of the Party before that day. Change of personal title, however, never affected the Member's politics. By this time Lord Rosebery had retired to his lonely furrow, and speaking with obvious sincerity and without the slightest hint of personal ambition Sir Henry sought to lure his colleague back to the Liberal leadership he had resigned by making hearty acknowledgment of the loyal self-sacrificing spirit Lord Rosebery had always displayed in his association with his colleagues, and in his championship of Liberal principles.

He delivered a speech well worthy of a Liberal leader, and harmonising his frequently expressed views as a sane Imperialist, who recognised Peace as the greatest of British interests.

Adverting to the restraint shown by Lord Salisbury in presence of the unexpected provocation contained in President Cleveland's address on the subject of Venezuela, Sir Henry made grateful mention of the maintenance of a pacific sentiment among the British people. "We might well (he said) be proud of ourselves, for never once nor for one day did the people or press of this country depart from the attitude of dignified equanimity. Not one word was uttered, and not one thing was done to compromise that deep feeling of friendship and sentiment which, with God's help, we would maintain with our kinsmen beyond the sea."

On the South African question, which was then becoming somewhat threatening in its aspect, he expressed views which he afterwards maintained in days of darkness, and to which in happier times he was able to give practical expression. He could not doubt, he remarked, that although the problem was one of great delicacy and great difficulty, that with the traditional faculty for colonisation and government which we possessed to a greater degree than any other race in the world, we should be able while keeping on good terms with our African neighbours to secure for our fellow subjects, whether of British or Dutch descent, a fair field and equal rights in the exercise of industry and enterprise, and at the same time guarding against oppressive treatment of the native races. By this time Lord Salisbury had discovered that Britain by its efforts to uphold Turkish power in South-Eastern Europe had put its money on the wrong

horse. Sir Henry welcomed his Lordship's approximation towards the policy of Liberal statesmen. He did not advocate isolated action, but he recognised "that we were the particular power whose conscience and whose honour were involved in seeing that right, however, tardily, was done."

While welcoming what he evidently regarded as a beneficent change in the foreign policy of the Tory Party, he vigorously condemned the Government's legislative work. He described it as influenced by purely class interests. He condemned more particularly the reactionary project by which the School Board system in England, which when properly managed had proved itself healthy and progressive, was being assailed. He lamented that the pugnacious party in the Church of England should seek to get a measure carried which would weaken the authority of their successful rivals, the School Board.

In the following year Sir Henry attended a banquet given to the ex-Lord Advocate, Mr. J. B. Balfour, at the Scottish Liberal Club, over which Lord Rosebery presided and there renewed his protest against the partizan character of the Upper Chamber, and urged the need of a constitutional reform to bring the Parliamentary system into harmony with the political convictions of the people and the interests of the Empire. He described the House of Lords as a picturesque relic which had deliberately disqualified itself for the discharge of the duty of a court of legislative review by becoming a mere mouthpiece and tool of one of the parties in the State.

Passing on from Edinburgh to Dunfermline he renewed his activities as an Opposition leader by the vigour of his criticism of the policy of the Government. On this occasion

his protest was specially directed against aggressive belligerence in India. Having paid a warm tribute to the Viceroy's great capacity, his high spirit, his loftiness of character, specially welcome to Dunfermline citizens who had a few years previously enrolled him as one of their honorary Burgesses, Sir Henry proceeded to say:—"It is not Lord Elgin, nor is it the Government of India we impugn. It is Her Majesty's Government we impugn; and what we say to them is that in 1895 they deliberately and with their eyes open took a step which was a fatal blunder, and has been the immediate cause of the present war, with all its consequences in loss of life and waste of money." That fatal blunder was the reversal of the decision of their predecessors to withdraw from Chitral as soon as the garrison had been relieved and adequate punishment had been inflicted upon those by whom it had been treacherously assailed.

Sir Henry likewise expressed disappointment with the ineffectiveness of Lord Salisbury's South-Eastern policy, in view of the provocation offered by the Turks in the massacre of Armenians in Constantinople. "We are all (he remarked) bag and baggage men now-a-days. We have no interest or sympathy standing in the way of freedom or good government; while I have always been in favour of using the Concert of Europe for these purposes—for the exercise of our influence through the co-operation of the other Powers—I am bound to say, if such action means being led such a dance as we have been performing this year, it would be more befitting at once the dignity and conscience of a free people to be outside the Concert of Europe."

Turning to domestic affairs, he quoted Cicero's dictum, "*Inter arma silent leges*," but sadly added that in Britain, when a re-actionary Government are in power, law and

legislation are not suspended even in time of war. He adversely criticised the conduct of the Salisbury Government with respect to public health, congested districts, primary education in England, objecting specially to Scottish education being reduced to the English level, or Scottish wants being sacrificed to English necessities. He proceeded to quote Lucian, the Roman poet, in a well-known passage describing the delights of witnessing from the safety and comfort of the shore the distress of vessels tossing in tempestuous seas. "That is a selfish delight that we can permit ourselves in Scotland. With our democratic Church government, with our universal School Boards, it is in the power of the community at large to put an end to any evil tendency such as this either in Church or in School, and the Scottish people are not likely to betray either in fact or in form that heritage of freedom in things civil and in things sacred which was won for us and bequeathed to us by the courage of our fathers."

In his address to the Inverkeithing electors he illustrated the difference in the effect of Liberal and Unionist foreign policy on commercial and industrial interests. Fastening on what he called the provocative expression used by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (now Lord St. Aldwyn) that this country was determined to maintain an open door in the Far East at the cost of war, he observed that although sympathising with the policy which sought to protect British rights of commerce and trade in China, along with facilities to other nations, he did not believe that the desired object could be best secured by menace. Similarly he made it clear he had no faith in the promotion of British trade by any form of artificial protection. Referring to the discussion then in progress with respect to the sugar industry

in the West India Colonies, he warned his fellow countrymen they could not ignore economic laws with impunity. A breach of them always brought its own punishment. They could not make water run up a hill, and any attempt to interfere artificially in favour of a particular trade was certain to meet with disaster in the end.

When in December of 1898 he rendered account of his stewardship, his speech was less controversial and condemnatory in its tone. He directed most of his attention to the Irish Local Government Act which had been passed into law during the session. He described it as a most comprehensive and intricate measure, a sweeping reform, dealing with domestic concerns, and intimately affecting every-day life. It put, he said, the new wine of democracy not, happily, into the old bottles of an obsolete system of privilege and nomination, but into an entirely new elective system of administration. He remarked with satisfaction on the degree of unanimity with which the measure had been carried, saying that the Liberal party had no reason to look upon it with timidity, suspicion, or disfavour on any ground. He was careful, however, to make it clear that this healing measure had not altered his attitude to Home Rule, his advocacy of which he had always based, mainly and primarily, on the demand of the Irish electors at the poll. His reference to foreign affairs was also more re-assuring. He welcomed the receipt of the Czar in favour of disarmament as a pleasing harbinger of peace and goodwill at Christmas time, and noticed with lively satisfaction the growing sentiment of friendliness between this country and the United States.

CHAPTER XI.

“ A PILLAR STEADFAST IN THE STORM.”

*Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solida.*

As indicated in a former chapter Sir Henry did not find the local Unionists responsive to his conciliatory appeals and educational efforts. On the contrary, their hostility to him, hardened as his criticism of the Government's South African policy became sharper, and his divergence from that attitude of the Imperial Liberal League, of which Lords Rosebery, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Haldane were leading members, grew more distinct.

His call to the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons in February, 1899, was, of course, highly gratifying to his political supporters in the Stirling Burghs. They noticed with pleasure the unanimity with which the representative meeting held at the Reform Club made choice of their member;—a meeting presided over by Sir Wilfrid Lawson as the Parliamentary father of the Liberal party, and of which the chief spokesmen were Sir Joseph Pease and Mr. Channing on behalf of England, Dr. Farquharson on behalf of Scotland, and Mr. Abel Thomas on behalf of Wales. Through their association they unanimously renewed their assurance of confidence, recorded their appreciation of his faithfulness and steadfastness as an upholder of the great principles of the Liberal party, and expressed their conviction that though he had succeeded

to the leadership at an awkward time in the fortunes of the party, he would be able to weld it together, and as its chief restore its supremacy in the counsels of the nation.

Depreciatory critics were not wanting even among professed Liberals, who persisted in regarding him as merely a *locum tenens* ; but the friends of democratic advance on the traditional lines of Liberalism throughout the country heartily endorsed the summons addressed to him at the Reform Club meeting, and his authority in the House of Commons, and still more throughout the country steadily grew. While prominent members of the National Liberal Club and of the Eighty Club organised festive gatherings in his honour, invitations to address public meetings came to him from all parts of the United Kingdom. In the spring of 1900, after he had failed to induce Lord Rosebery to return from his tent, he accepted the Presidency of the Scottish Liberal Association in succession to the popular nobleman ; and recognising this change as significant of the withdrawal of a rival in Liberal leadership from the field, the Dunfermline Liberal Association passed a resolution declaring the continued confidence in their Member, specially commended his attitude towards the Transvaal question, and expressed the hope that he would be spared not only to lead the Liberal party in the House of Commons, but to become Prime Minister and guide the country in the safe paths of Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform. On his 64th birthday in September, 1900, they joined with many other friends and grateful admirers in sending him the heartiest congratulations ; and in their jubilant temper they showed themselves ready to assume that a representative who was bringing to the constituency signal distinction would be returned once again without opposition.

The local Unionists, however, had by that time become identified with the Conservatives on other subjects besides Home Rule. They, too, were infected with the khaki fever, and Sir Henry's hostility to the Government's war policy intensified their opposition to him. Accordingly, they listened readily to the encouragement given them from headquarters to make a resolute effort to oust the most fearless and persistent of the critics of the Government from his seat. Colonel Duke was sent to them as the nominee of the Ministerial Whips. A follower of Lord Hartington, more than of Lord Salisbury, Colonel Duke offered his services as a Liberal-Unionist who favoured various reforms that had long occupied a place in the Liberal programme, and thus strove to commend himself to the goodwill of the constituency, conspicuous for its fidelity to the Liberal faith. Recognising, however, that popular prejudice had been aroused against Sir Henry as a Little Englander who had been maligned by his traducers as an enemy of his country because he pleaded for justice for the Boers, the Colonel placed in the forefront of his appeal a warm commendation of the Government's South African policy. He asked the electors to send him to Parliament to support the Unionist administration "so that the blood of our soldiers may not have been shed in vain; or sacrifices may not be rendered fruitless, and the loyal affection of our Colonies may not be perhaps irretrievably alienated."

Sir Henry, however, did not quail. In the capacity of Liberal leader he had issued a manifesto re-iterating the opinions he had expressed on many platforms respecting the South African War. In that document he blamed the Government for lack

of prudence and judgment in the negotiations preceding the outbreak of hostilities. Anxious to facilitate and hasten a satisfactory settlement, he advocated the use of the arts of conciliation and recommended the establishment of a representative Government as soon as possible. He protested against the assumption that the Conservatives have a monopoly of patriotism. He claimed as a Liberal to be as proud of the Empire as any man, but he did not identify territorial extent with strength, nor did he see that the glory or success of the Empire was increased by the beating down of our neighbours. To the terms of this address he pointed his constituents when, emboldened by their confidence and indulgence in the past, he asked for continuance in the proud position he had long occupied; and in the series of speeches he delivered he showed no sign of vacillation or a disposition to compromise his principles. With a resolution as firm as that he displayed when his seat was assailed because of his refusal to modify his Home Rule opinions, he maintained his indictment of the Government's war policy in South Africa; and when at the close of the poll his majority was found reduced to 630 out of a total of 4800 votes polled—his opponent having polled 2085, the largest total the Unionists had ever reached—he declared himself pleased with the result, in view of the staleness of the register. Nor did he waver in his antagonism to the Government, or show the slightest sign of faltering courage after the constituencies had finally delivered their verdict strongly in favour of the Unionist administration and its war policy. In the earlier days of the Home Rule battle he had occupied a subordinate place under Mr. Gladstone. In the still more passionate party struggle excited by the South African

conflict he occupied a pre-eminent place ; and on his devoted head fell a torrent of abuse quite as furious as any which ever descended upon his great predecessor and chief.

What distressed him much more than the vituperation of his jingo opponents was the luke-warmness of the support extended to him as leader by former colleagues. On the occasion of Mr. Gladstone's sudden dissolution of Parliament in 1874 he had justified the apparently precipitate action of his chief by quoting lines of the Marquis of Montrose :—

He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all.

With equal courage and adroitness—for he felt the Liberalism of the country approved his unsparing criticism of the misguided policy, and the misdeeds of the Unionist administration—he put his foot on the disaffection which



was hampering him in the fulfilment of his task. In July, 1901, he summoned the party to a conference, and frankly told them that if he was to lead them he must have faithful support. "We are divided," he said, "not on account

of real or essential divergencies of opinion, but because of the operation of certain personal antagonisms which for the last half-dozen years have disturbed and paralysed the Liberal party. I am here to say to you deliberately and emphatically that we shall never restore health and efficiency to the Liberal party in the House of Commons unless these cabals be put down."

Then the tide began to turn. The response of the conference left no room to doubt that the cabals complained of would not be tolerated. The Liberal Associations throughout the country firmly and with remarkable unanimity sustained the decision of their representative at Westminster, and seconded their chosen leader's demands. Sir Henry was recognised as "a pillar steadfast in the storm"—as a statesman who, as he battled "for the true, the just," was not only staunch in his adherence to true Liberal principles but had the courage of his opinions; as an Opposition leader who did not fear to expose Mr. Chamberlain's wrong-doing to his face, and who did not fail to tell his misguided fellow-countrymen that the policy they had upheld at the election, and were still applauding in their folly, was ruinous and wicked. He was as outspoken in his rebuke of the spirit that led to indulgence in "methods of barbarism" as he was in his ridicule of the opponents of Home Rule when he described their fears and threats as a political malady, which he named "Ulsteria." He became valued as a man who "dared to stand alone, dared to have a purpose firm, and dared to make it known." So he began to enter his kingdom on a higher level than that which his Inverkeithing supporters beheld when he received his first modest ministerial appointment; and before the next general election occurred he was found to have become

on Fortune's crowning slope,
 The pillar of a people's hope,
 The centre of a world's desire.

As the Ministerialist majority rapidly shrank in proportion the personal popularity of the Liberal leader increased ; and when an appeal was made for the judgment of the country in January, 1906, the verdict given was a magnificent vindication of Sir Henry's policy and conduct. The Unionist majority of 134 in 1900 was converted into a Progressive majority of 354. As an effective political force in the House of Commons the Unionist party was practically effaced. The hero of the day was undoubtedly the Member for the Stirling Burghs, whom a few years previously so many superior persons had affected to despise. Not by the display of any special brilliancy of talent or dexterity in political leadership, but by his unflinching fortitude in days of party adversity, by the obvious sincerity with which he pleaded for the identification of democratic principle, with the cause of peace and genuine prosperity, and by the change in the Imperial and also in the commercial outlook which seemed to justify his policy, he proved to be the chief agent in leading the country from Mafficking madness into the paths of a sane Imperialism, and from an adventurous Tariff Reform policy into the settled courses of Free Trade. " There is one thing (he said on one occasion) I have learned in my Parliamentary experience—it is not cleverness that pays in the long run. The people of this country are a straightforward people. They like honesty and straightforwardness of purpose. They may laugh at it, and they may be amused by it, and they may in a sense admire it ; but they do not like cleverness. You may be too clever by half." The personal triumph, which

astonished his depreciators and highly gratified his friends, was due to the national recognition and appreciation of him as an honest man who placed national above personal integrity, and who identified the principles of Peace and Progress, professed by the Liberal party, with the higher and better aspirations of an intelligent and patriotic democracy.

For him the remarkable triumph was sweetened by the evidence he had not merely of the continued, but also heightened and extended, confidence and affection of his constituents. In a subsequent chapter the display of this growth of the sentiment of admiration and pride will be more fully described. For the present it will suffice to mention the withdrawal of opposition to his return at the general election of 1906. The Unionists and the Tariff Reformers in the constituency did not, it is true, conceal their disagreement with his political views, and under party pressure they agreed to nominate a champion of their principles whose candidature might at least have the effect of retaining the Liberal leader in the narrow sphere of the Stirling Burghs during the General Election struggle when his aid was desired by political friends in many other quarters. Shortly after Mr. C. Kenneth Murchison had entered on his campaign he was prostrated by influenza, and the local Unionists, who knew they had no hope of success, and many of whom did not, on grounds of personal friendship and local pride, desire to see Sir Henry's connection with the constituency severed, willingly accepted this illness as an excuse for abstaining from the harassment of the prominent statesmen they were proud to have as the representative of the Burghs. Accordingly, after the victory of his party had been placed beyond

doubt, Sir Henry was able to issue a grateful and courteous letter of thanks to political opponents as well as supporters in the constituency :—

Belmont Castle,
Meigle, 16th January, 1906.

Gentlemen,

I beg to thank you most sincerely and cordially for the honour you have done me in again returning me as your representative in Parliament, and I trust that I shall not show myself unworthy of this renewed mark of confidence.

I am deeply indebted to my political friends among you for the strenuous efforts they made in anticipation of a contest, which, from a most regrettable cause, did not take place; and I am at the same time most sensible of the considerate and even friendly spirit manifested by those who are opposed to me in political opinion.

I beg to assure you all of my desire to be of service to you to the utmost extent of my power, and I remain,

Gentlemen, your obedient faithful servant,

H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HONORARY BURGESS-SHIP.

Notice has already been taken of Sir Henry's gradual identification with the life and character of Dunfermline. As the years of his stewardship swiftly passed he saw many old personal friends removed for whose kindness and counsel he was grateful and their places filled by young friends faithful to the cause of their own fathers and of his teaching, whom he grappled to his soul as with hoops of steel. He also saw arise a succession of new hecklers and critics whose catechising and comments he always met with good humour. His speeches while always characterised by a robust and hopeful Liberalism, were singularly free from rancour, and similarly in his cautious and dexterous replies to the expert questioners who sought to dig pits for him he was careful to avoid unnecessary provocation or the widening of differences, showing more desire to get the baffled importuner to laugh with him and the meeting rather than to make him an object of ridicule. Thus in one of his encounters with the redoubtable champion of Protestantism, Mr. Jacob Primmer, he parted with his interrogator by describing him as "My friend, if he will allow me to call him so, whose labours—if he would only take my advice and cut out some of those adjectives—really represent a strong and growing and well-founded feeling on the part of his fellow countrymen." While, however, always willing to find common ground between himself and his critics, he was careful about the pledges which he gave making them

to his friends in political sympathy with him, conditional on the state of affairs that might emerge or the conditions in which his party might find themselves. As a Parliamentary representative he was an opportunist reconciling wise and practical statesmanship with a consistent advocacy of progress and reform.

His success in the work of personal conciliation was greatly assisted by the intimacy of his knowledge of the affairs of the city and of the men of light and leading who figured in its industrial and public life. Speaking at the unveiling of the Donald Fountain in the Public Park in 1887, which he was asked to dedicate to the city, he described the Provost as identified with Dunfermline in every fibre of his being, and as finding his chief pride and pleasure in rendering it service. "If," he remarked, "his generous gift is an appropriate one, it could not have come from a more appropriate hand." It was this recognition of his keen concern for the welfare of the city and the good name of its citizens that led to the enrolment of his name as an Honorary Burgess in 1903. Provost Scobie, who presided at the ceremony, remarked "What more than anything else endeared Sir Henry to his constituents was his prompt attention to their interests, no matter how small, and the ease and freedom with which he could at all times be approached. Between him and the poorest citizen there stood no barrier of pride."

Sir Henry in his reply frankly and proudly made acknowledgment of his identification with the city. He felt he said that by long service, by familiar interest, by friendship and affection he was really one of themselves, and the aspect with which he would view the ceremony of that day was that it was the outward and visible sign of an

inward and spiritual union which had existed for many years. He proceeded:—

That honour so far from losing anything, surely rather gained from the fact that their association had been so long and so close. No man was a hero to his valet. He suspected it was not every one—he hoped he was not going to be indiscreet—who would risk going for candid character even to the wife of his bosom. And similarly an intelligent and active-minded constituency—and if such a constituency did not exist in the Stirling district of Burghs he knew not where to look for one—could judge its members with a knowledge, with a justice; yes, and with a severity far exceeding the summary estimate of the outside world. They knew his weaknesses, of which his frail humanity had its due share; they knew his merits, if happily, he possessed any. They had watched him and followed his action; they had listened to him; they had heckled him; they had got bored with him, and they had recovered and taken to him, and learned to put up with him. They had differed from him, and they had agreed with him. They had seen him in easy times and in difficult, in foul weather and in fair, when the tide of popularity was rising and when it was ebbing fast. They saw him praised in the public press, and they winced under it, for they knew how that praise was overdone. They saw him abused in the public press sometimes, and it only served to bring them closer to him. And if after 35 years of service and all these close and searching tests they saw fit to proclaim him worthy of the highest honours at their disposal, the day of its bestowal must surely be one of the proudest days of his life. No distinction which had come to him in his long public career was dearer or sweeter to him than to be made a free burgess of that ancient city, and receive the stamp of the approval of her inhabitants. And that was not solely because Dunfermline happened to be the most populous amongst the five Royal Burghs it was his great fortune to represent, but because Dunfermline was to him a familiar “auld grey toon” from whose warm-hearted inhabitants he had received through all these years nothing but kindness—earnest and faithful support from those who shared their views, perfect courtesy from those who were otherwise minded, personal friendship and consideration from all. His appreciation of the high compliment paid to him was greatly enhanced by the knowledge of the fact that in it there was nothing of political feeling, and that it was the public servant and not the party politician who was being honoured.

The list of Free Burgesses which forms part of the city archives dates as far back as 1497. It contains the names of men famous in national and local life, amongst

them being Sir Walter Scott, two Lord Elgins, Louis Kossuth, Andrew Carnegie and Sir Noel Paton. After a brief allusion to his predecessors as Honorary Burgesses and to the historical association of the city which endowed it with peculiar dignity and interest, he continued :—

But there was something of which they were even prouder than of these ancient and honourable traditions, that something was the maintenance through all these generations of a well-ordered, God-fearing community, instinct with energy and enterprise, self-reliant, industrious, intelligent, generous-hearted, devotees of freedom, independence and justice, possessing, in fact, all the qualities that had made up all the grandeur of the race to which they belonged. He did not claim for Dunfermline a monopoly of Scottish virtue, but he did say they would not find in all Scotland a more typical community.

The greatness of the men whom Dunfermline had honoured during the flight of the centuries did not obscure for him the virtues of the citizens with whom he had become acquainted during the past 35 years, asking if the citizens of modern times distinguished by civic service could be surpassed anywhere, he named in turn—Provost Whitelaw, “keen and active as any man could be”; Robert Robertson, “strong, energetic, large-hearted”; Henry Reid, “dignified and kindly always”; Kenneth Mathieson, “full of enterprise, and in civic duties born to command”; James Walls, “the shrewdest and kindest of men”; Robert Donald, “devoted heart and soul and kindly disposed”; and other captains who had done noble service, Thomas Morrison, “fiery, energetic, combative, almost quarrelsome, and on the other hand a more contemplative type, George Lauder, who was interested in everything that could conduce to the welfare of his neighbours.” After quoting statistics showing the steady growth of the city since 1861, in population and wealth, he noticed the generous benefactions of a true bairn of Moodie Street, to

the town, and happily quoted a Latin couplet of a Scottish poet written in eulogy of the first Earl of Southesk 250 years ago—an ancestor of Lord Bruce—which he considered singularly apposite to his Dunfermline namesake in the 20th century:—

“*Nec numero claudunter opes nec limite rura,
Carnegi servat mens tamen alta modum.*”

which, freely translated, might be tendered thus :

“With treasures countless and with endless lands,
Carnegie’s lofty mind still simple stands.”

He gave further proof of his loving concern for the city into whose communal life he had been ceremonially adopted by showing his concern for its future in view of the projection of the Government Dockyard at Rosyth. His attitude as an adopted son of Dunfermline towards that scheme was that of Ursula in the “Golden Legend” when she heard of Elsie’s resolution to sacrifice herself for Prince Henry in a spirit of religious devotion:—“Evil and good it both resembles.” He said:—

One lost oneself in imagining what would follow upon the expected introduction to their close neighbourhood of an entirely new activity attracting thousands of stranger workmen revolutionising the district. What would happen? Would Dunfermline extend her borders, embrace the new town, impart to it her own good influences, and absorb it? Or would the new community stretch its arms up to the grey town on the hill and wrap itself round her like some glittering setting around an ancient gem? Would Dunfermline dominate the new colony, or would she be altered in tone and character by it? Who could tell? This was perhaps dipping too far into the future, but the people of Dunfermline had to prepare for it, and brace themselves for it. He knew on which side his hopes and confidence were. He wished them all prosperity. He wished them all the strength they could gain—and they would gain strength from a new and active industry close to them. But he earnestly trusted nothing would happen to modify the genuine traditional character

of their people, their simplicity and earnestness of life and purpose, the qualities which had made Dunfermline what she was, and by which alone her future welfare could be secured.

Sir Henry deftly and dexterously used the occasion for the glorification not of himself, but of the town, which he would willingly serve for other 35 years in Parliament. As he recalled the generous trustfulness of his supporters in his early manhood, the courtesy and kindness he had ever received from political opponents as well as party friends, the disinterestedness and capacity of the leading men of the city with whom he had been associated in public service, his utterance seemed at times almost choked. His words, warm from the heart, most obviously reached the hearts of many auditors, grateful for the recognition of parents passed into the skies by one of the foremost public men of the day.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PREMIERSHIP.

It was natural that the constituents of Sir Henry should view with proud self-complacency the national endorsement of the estimate of his character and abilities, which they began to form immediately after his introduction to the Stirling Burghs, which was recorded after as Prime Minister he had sketched the Liberal programme in his speech in the Albert Hall on the eve of the dissolution in December, 1905. Their sense of satisfaction, not to say their feeling of jubilation, was increased when they saw him, as the new Parliament proceeded to business, proving himself the strong man in a strong Cabinet, every member of which rewarded his confidence by unqualified and un-deviating devotion to the objects to which he had asked them to devote their talents and their energies.

The commanding authority which was conceded to Sir Henry as his due was doubtless attributable in no small measure to the unmistakeable evidence of the personal confidence and affection with which he was regarded by all sections of the Progressive party in the House of Commons and of his popularity in the electorates. It was maintained and strengthened by the remarkable skill and success with which he led the House and also by the vigour and business-like character of the speeches he delivered when his counsel and inspiration were most required. An earlier generation of students of politics profited greatly by the reading of Cobden's political writings, compiled by Sir Louis Mallet, which they learned

to value as a guide to a fitting appreciation not only of Free Trade principles but also of sound foreign, colonial, and imperial policies. A similarly helpful and healthy educational service is within reach of the students of present-day politics if they read the "Speeches of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, from his Election as Leader of the Liberal Party to his Resignation of Office of Prime Minister—1899-1908," issued from the office of the *Times*. In his life-time Sir Henry himself was in the habit of minimising the educational value of his addresses, and always discouraged their re-publication. Few intelligent readers of this collection of his utterances by the leading newspaper from its own columns will be inclined to accept their author's estimate of their value. On the contrary, most will be convinced that Sir Henry, in depreciating them, let his modesty wrong him, and that they supply a splendid vindication not only of his ability and courage but his fidelity to his principles and pledges and the high aims of a noble, democratic statesmanship.

In the Albert Hall speech to which reference has been made, the Premier said that the Unionist Government had "died of tactics." In proceeding to the prosecution of the task he had marked out for his Ministry, and which he believed the country had authorised and expected him to undertake, he made practical illustration of Sir Henry Wotton's "Character of a Happy Life" as revealed in the man

Whose armour is his honest thought
And simple truth his utmost skill).

On the eve of the appeal to the country he gave proof of his courage and of his identification of Liberal policy

with the righteousness that exalts a nation by the intimation that instructions had been given to Lord Elgin, the newly appointed Governor of South Africa, to stop forthwith the embarkation of Chinese coolies and their importation into South Africa as a trade bearing a close resemblance to the odious system of slavery. When still in opposition he had said—"To import aliens from without the Empire and to make them bondsmen under degrading conditions for the mere purpose of benefiting, not the whole community into which they are introduced but a wealthy industry and the speculators in that industry—can any one conceive a more flagrant denial on all points of the principles of freedom and equity, by adherence to which we have gained our place in the world." And with the least possible delay after he came into power he not only insisted on making a *tabula rasa* of the iniquitous system sanctioned by his predecessors but further reversed their policy of repression in the interests of a money-seeking minority by granting autonomy to South Africa, thereby strengthening the foundations of Imperial rule by a democratic interpretation of the principle of *Imperium et Libertas* with which Lord Beaconsfield claimed to identify his foreign policy.

Equally emphatic and decisive was his repudiation of the Tariff Reform policy of his predecessors and his defence of Free Trade. Formerly he had dared in the House of Commons to charge Mr. Chamberlain with responsibility for the Boer War, into which the country had been led while the then Colonial Secretary was, according to his own confession, playing what he intended to be only "a game of bluff." When Mr. Balfour, after his return to the new House, from which he had been

temporarily excluded after his defeat at Manchester, he crossed swords with the Unionist leader on the subject of Fiscal Reform, and certainly he did not come out of the encounter second best. "The right hon. gentleman," he said, "is like the old Bourbon in the oft-quoted phrase—he has learnt nothing. He comes back to this new House of Commons with the same airy graces, the same subtle dialectics, the same light and frivolous way with a great question, and he little knows the temper of the new House of Commons if he thinks that these methods will prevail here. He has put some questions to me on this resolution. He has split it up and tortured it and pulled it to pieces, and he thinks he has put some posers to us. . . . I have no direct answer to give to them. They are utterly futile, nonsensical, and misleading. They were invented by the right hon. gentleman for the purpose of occupying time in this debate. I say—Enough of this foolery! It might have answered very well in the last Parliament, but it is altogether out of place in this Parliament. The tone and temper of this Parliament will not permit it. Move your amendments and let us get to business." The statesman whom the Unionist chiefs in their day of power affected to despise now spoke to them as their master.

And in calling upon the House to proceed to business he found himself in perfect agreement with the desire and determination of the great Progressive majority. Sir Henry left no one in doubt of his earnestness as a statesman in a hurry and honest in his adherence to the principles he had professed during the whole of his public life. To the women reformers who urged their claims for enfranchisement his attitude was very different from that adopted later by Mr. Asquith. Though he pleaded Parlia-

mentary difficulties in the way of the immediate concession of their demand he admitted that they had made out "a conclusive and irrefutable case," and so he sent them away pacified and hopeful. He identified the claims of the Labour party with regard to the legal liability of Trades Union with the policy of his Government, and thereby quickened their personal devotion to him without weakening the attachment of any other section of the Government supporters. His fidelity to the democratic faith was further demonstrated when he declared his acceptance of the principle of the payment of members in order to obtain a genuine and straightforward representation of the people,—adding "The idea pervading men's minds is that the constituency is doing the member a favour by returning him to Parliament. It ought to be exactly the reverse. The candidate is doing the constituents a favour by undertaking arduous, difficult, and often tiresome work for them, and until you get that balance readjusted I believe you will not remedy many of the evils from which we are suffering. Why is it that members are so overwhelmed in some places by demands for subscriptions? It is because the constituencies look upon the member as a man who has received a great benefit from them, and they hold that he ought to give a return. The whole of that conception of the relations between a member and his constituents is entirely wrong."

Further, while under his auspices the measures were initiated for the fulfilment of the pledges of the Liberal party with respect to Home Rule, Temperance Reform, Welsh Disestablishment and religious equality, with Housing and Land Reform, Sir Henry added to his fame as a man of exceptional linguistic accomplishments as

well as a statesman earnestly devoted to the cause of international peace by speaking in French when he welcomed the Inter-Parliamentary Union at their meeting in London. In this assemblage of distinguished men, drawn from both hemispheres, he, as a friend of the *entente cordiale*, described Britain's part in the international peace movement, lamented and condemned the spirit of jealous rivalry that led to the growth of armaments, and as a believer in popular as opposed to oligarchical and autocratic Government, recalled the civilised world at a critical moment to faith in democratic progress by his thrilling declaration in face of the Czar's dissolution of his first Parliament—"The Duma is dead; long live the Duma." Equally happy and successful was he in his reception of the Colonial Premiers when he enunciated the doctrine that the essence of the British Imperial connection is to be found in the union of freedom and independence.

Nor did his leadership fail in courage or in tact or in dignity when the great crisis caused by the opposition of the House of Lords to the emphatically declared opinion and wishes of the people arose. At the meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Plymouth in June, 1907, he announced that the time for temporising was past, and that the supremacy of the House of Commons must be established. A few days afterwards, in the House of Commons, he moved and carried by the overwhelming majority of 285 votes the resolution marking out the course of action afterwards applied in the Veto Act:—

"That in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or to reject Bills passed by this House should

be so restricted that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."

In proposing this resolution the Prime Minister contended that a change had been necessitated by the unwillingness of the House of Lords to recognise the country's gradual transformation into a democratic State, and their refusal to acknowledge as supreme the constitutionally declared will of the people. "When (he said) you find a General Election as the last treated as a mere irrelevance and the House of Commons, which has been returned with an unexampled majority, regarded elsewhere as a body devoid of real vitality and vital authority, we have to look upon such claims with a stronger feeling because they are put forward with a degree of violent aggressiveness which compels us to challenge them." He was equally emphatic in his repudiation of what he called the doctrine of the mandate or referendum. He declared—"The constitution knows nothing of this doctrine of the special mandate, nothing whatever. It is an invention apparently of the House of Lords designed to afford them some kind of shelter, behind which they may get rid of the Bills they dislike. . . . We are invited to go to the country *ad hoc* to test whether the other House or this House is right whenever we come to a deadlock. We have not been elected on any such system as that: we were elected to carry out certain broad principles, and yet, forsooth, we are to go back and be re-elected on Bills, and on sections of Bills, and sub-sections of Bills if we are to convince the other House." Conscious of the support of an overwhelming majority behind him, he stood forth as a champion of the dignity of the Commons and also of the supreme authority of the electors. "We

have," he said in conclusion, "perfect confidence in the good feeling, the good sense, the wisdom, the righteousness, and the patriotism of our country. We need no sheltering against them; we have no fears of them and therefore we would invert the roles thus assigned to the two Houses. Let the country have the fullest use in all matters of the experience, wisdom, and patriotic industry of the House of Lords in revising and amending and securing full consideration for legislative measures, but, and these words sum up our whole policy, the Commons shall prevail."

In July of the same year, at the National Liberal Club, Sir Henry further explained and commended the Government's proposals for the modification of the veto power of the House of Lords, and in his last speech delivered in the House of Commons on February 13th, 1908, he again urged that the preservation of the dignity and the authority of the House of Commons required the application of this constitutional reform.

In "Prophets, Priests, and Kings (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.) Mr. A. G. Gardiner gives an example of Campbell-Bannerman's magnanimity. "In the early days of the Fiscal controversy I was dining with two politicians at the table of a mutual friend in the Temple. The politicians—one a Peer and the other a Commoner—had been, and still were, Liberal Imperialists; both are now in the Government. The talk turned, as it always did in those days, on the prospects of a "C.-B." or a Rosebery Cabinet. "I must admit," said the Commoner, "that C.-B. has treated me very handsomely. I attacked him bitterly in the midst of

the war. Most men would have remembered it; he has forgotten it, and when last week he was asked to preside at a meeting I was to address he consented cheerfully without a moment's hesitation."



Provost Walls.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEATH OF LADY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

The Campbell-Bannerman Government made a most auspicious start. Alike as regards administrative work, legislative projects, and Parliamentary management, they gave abundant evidence of capacity. For the Prime Minister, however, the happiness created by the greatness of the triumphs achieved was sadly clouded by the renewal in an aggravated form of the illness which for years had prevented Lady Campbell-Bannerman taking the prominent part in social and political life as the help-meet of her husband for which by the urbanity of her manner and her mental accomplishments she was eminently fitted. Immediately after the close of the ordinary session in 1906, Sir Henry removed the patient to Marienbad. The journey was well borne, and for a few days after the arrival at the favourite health resort, a distinct recovery of strength seemed to be marked. The rally, however, was not maintained. On the 30th of August, the sufferer passed to her final rest amid a national mourning, eloquent of the universality and depth of the sympathy and affection the Prime Minister had excited.

The wife of the Member for the Burghs was never personally known to the great bulk of her husband's constituents. Her feeble health compelled her to avoid all gatherings or ceremonies, and she was content to live in the shade. Once or twice she undertook a public engagement in connection with a ceremonial function in which the people of the Burghs were more or less interested, but at the last moment it was found she had not strength to face

the ordeal. The more prominent men in the constituency, however, who at different times during Sir Henry's long connection with the Burghs enjoyed the privileges of inti-



Mrs Campbell-Bannerman

mate intercourse with them, were made sensible by his conversation of the keenness of his wife's interest in all that

pertained to the welfare of the Burghs, and of the many friends and families with whom he became associated. Thus a belief was gradually created in the vigilance and genuineness of her sympathy with what was best in the public life of the Burghs constituting her husband's constituency, and with the joys and sorrows of the friends he most trusted. It was felt, too, that her influence on her husband was all for good—at once stimulating and refining—and that his faith in the soundness of her judgment alike as regards public men and affairs was beautifully strong. Thus in his private conversation in his later days he made proud acknowledgment of the value of the guidance he received from her in the times of perplexity and difficulty, and did not conceal that it was to her counsel he yielded when at a critical moment in his political career he declined an offer to become Speaker of the House of Commons. She, too, shared the confidence which representative men in the constituency expressed at different periods that the Premiership would in time fall to his lot, and therefore she strongly advised the declination of an appointment which though highly honourable would have shut him out from the fulfilment of what she felt to be his deserts.

Her death therefore was felt in the Burghs as something in the nature of a personal loss, and the local tributes of respect and affection were instinct with the tenderest sympathy. The article published in the *Dunfermline Journal* on September 1st may here not unfittingly be reproduced:—

“After a prolonged illness, borne with beautiful and inspiring fortitude, Lady Campbell-Bannerman has passed to her rest. She did not figure prominently in public life. Indeed, it may be said she shunned publicity. She was content to live her life unseen by the outside world. Yet it

was known she performed with scrupulous fidelity and unflinching grace the highest of wifely duties.

"For nothing lovelier can be found
In woman than to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote."

This superlative service, Lady Campbell-Bannerman constantly rendered. Beautiful in many ways is Sir Henry's 38 years' unbroken connection with the Stirling Burghs. Much more beautiful, and on a still higher plane of human experience, has been the 46 years married life of Sir Henry and Lady Campbell-Bannerman. The idea that "woman is the lesser man" never disturbed its even tenor. Equality of capacity, unity of purpose, identity of aim were gratefully accepted and highly valued conditions which perfected and sweetened the union. Each found joy in ministering to the other's happiness. Thus similarity of tastes was developed. She was a woman of wide reading, and to extensive knowledge and to fine literary culture she added the most engaging womanly graces. Though she was not known on the public platform, she was appreciated as the accomplished hostess of her husband's most intimate friends, and in the drawing-room her influence was quickly felt by both sexes as a purifying and stimulating force. Of this ennobling inspiration Sir Henry, of course, was the chief as he was the most willing and susceptible recipient. Bacon has said, "He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or of mischief." The Prime Minister ever found his wife a help, not a hindrance. Not her sympathy alone, but her sound judgment never failed him. As a servant of the public, he made his wife his confidant, and keeping no secret from her sight, he found

her the most helpful of his associates and colleagues. Neither sought to dominate each other; the two wills and souls merged; and so Sir Henry was enabled quietly and resolutely to pursue his work—never placing self in the forefront of his aims, never seduced by the attractions of society, for Lady Campbell-Bannerman had no desire for social leadership, but ever loyal to the public good, and ever finding in Liberal principle the truest means of assuring the *summum bonum* attainable in national life.

Who can estimate the effect on a loving spirit among the most sacred ties, of a true love, withdrawn from the soiling entanglements of social life, innocent of the bitterness produced by the failure of unworthy ambitions, yet closely and constantly surveying all forms of national development from a loophole of retreat whose privacy was guarded as that of a holy place, and ceaselessly stimulating to noble endeavour in the high place of the battlefield, her

“Own ideal knight,
Who revered his conscience as his king;
Whose glory was, redressing human wrong;
Who spoke no slander, no, nor listen'd to it;
Who loved one only, and who clave to her”

Thus it was Sir Henry moved on from high to higher, until, without any self-seeking on his part he was placed in the Premiership of Great Britain, and proved himself qualified in an exceptional degree for the onerous and responsible duties of the first servant of the Crown in the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. And so it is to-day, when his true and honourable wife has been taken from him, and he has been deprived of the stay on which he has been proud to lean for forty-six happy years, the country feels a sorrow such as it has not experienced since Victoria the Good passed

from her earthly sovereignty to her heavenly reward. All lovers of the sanctities of the home life are grateful for the shining example of purity and mutual devotion afforded in the union now sundered by death. In the midst of the universal prayer that Sir Henry may be sustained and comforted in his irreparable bereavement most certainly mingles the aspiration of his Dunfermline constituents that the consolations only possible to the righteous and believing man will be abundantly vouchsafed to him.

For some time, in view of the near approach of Sir Henry's 70th birthday, many proposals have been made in various parts of the country for the organisation of a celebration that would assure fitting recognition of the services and the character of the Prime Minister. These proposals have been noted with the liveliest sympathy by the most devoted friends of our Burgh Member, but a knowledge of the seriousness of the illness of Lady Campbell-Bannerman prevented them giving the project the active encouragement expected from them. The fatal issue of the prolonged illness now puts the scheme out of question. On the 7th of September Sir Henry cannot be in a mood to take part in any kind of jubilation over his own successes or achievements. The reverent restraint and silence of the nation will now be the best tribute of sympathy that can be paid. Appreciating this pathetic homage, Sir Henry, it may be, will find not a little consolation in the days of his grief by the assurance that after years of labour and the experience of not a little misunderstanding and obloquy, all ranks and classes, not only in the Liberal party but in the nation, have come in some measure to believe in her belief, in his patriotic devotion, and his capacity of Ministerial service."

And again on September 8th in an article suggested by the universality of the morning caused by the Prime Minister's heavy bereavement, the *Journal* again said:—

“Longfellow writes:—‘There is no greater sorrow than to be mindful of the happy time in misery.’” In Locksley Hall, Tennyson endorsed this sentiment—

“This is truth the poet sings,

That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.”

Yet, this teaching, doubly testified to though it be, is not wholly or always true. Indeed, in one important sense, it is not Christian. For as many mourners, high and low, know there is a consolation that takes the sting from death and converts the dirge into a pæan. And human sympathy in proportion as it is felt to be sincere has the power of sweetening, ennobling, and sanctifying sorrow. With the remembrance of the happier things comes the gladdening peace that passes understanding.

Through much tribulation Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, as an upholder of the Liberal faith, entered into his kingdom. He coveted neither martyrdom nor notoriety. His temperament was never combative. He never thought of jostling friend or foe to attract notice, or to gain the first place. Yet he was made the victim of misrepresentation and calumny. When the enemy was strongest and most arrogant he was required to bear the brunt of the onset. Under experiences that would have overwhelmed all but the stoutest hearts, he never quailed or wavered. He simply strove to do his duty; and before he had thought of reward, he was marked out by his fellow-countrymen as a leader of courage and discernment. He was not only given the Premiership, but he was fortified in the place of high distinction and responsibility by evidences of confidence and

loyal devotion, such as a political leader in a free country has seldom enjoyed.

And now in the midst of the heaviest of domestic calamities he is solaced by the perception that his fellow-countrymen have made a new discovery. The death of Lady Campbell-Bannerman after a long illness has fastened public attention on the gem in his crown—his unfailing devotion to a wife his equal in every gift and grace, and therefore deserving of his heart's purest affection ; his victorious maintenance along with her of the good fight of faith, which makes home a holy of holies. Not the least of the triumphs that have come to him in mature age is this national perception and appreciation of his illustration of the purity of married life ;—the assurance given him of the national recognition of the sweetness of his home life as the secret of his strength. Without any advertisement or parade, but as in the natural order of things, this virtue has been revealed ; and the spontaneous national homage it has elicited must be doubly gratifying to Sir Henry. For to him as an upholder of the righteousness that alone exalts a nation it must afford pleasing evidence of the soundness of the moral sentiment of the nation, while to him just bereft of the object of his life's affection the realisation that his countrymen now know something of what his wife was to him, must be a solacing balm—one of many 'blessed consolations in distress.' ”

CHAPTER XV.

THE LAST VISIT TO DUNFERMLINE.

It would be untrue to say that Sir Henry's loss of his wife, whom he loved as his dearest friend and whose counsel he most valued, led to any slackening of his energies in the public service. If the sense of duty and of responsibility to the nation had failed to sustain him, the thought of her wishes, which never left him, would have rebuked any tendency to apathy or neglect. Undoubtedly the withdrawal of her sympathetic companionship and cheer created in him a feeling of loneliness which the affectionate care and attention of family friends only partially alleviated. He was conscious every day that a bright light had gone out of his life; and the fulfilment of his daily tasks became a less gladsome experience than in the earlier days of his Premiership, notwithstanding its many demands and perplexities.

Still, he thankfully recognised that many compensations lightened and brightened his lot. In his home he was conscious of the devotion of relatives, ceaselessly concerned for his welfare; his Cabinet was indeed a happy family, in which he was honoured and trusted; no Minister of the Crown ever enjoyed a greater amount of personal affection; and he never had any cause to doubt the constancy of his constituents. The greeting which was given to him in Dunfermline when, after an interval of two years, he visited the city was perhaps the most demonstratively affectionate he had ever received. The St.

Margaret's Hall proved much too small to accommodate all the citizens who wished to hear him; and his passage to and from the place of meeting was a triumphal procession. When he faced the cheering audience who welcomed him as a citizen and a Parliamentary steward of whom they were proud, he assured them of the genuineness of the pleasure he had in meeting them, and told them that what he called his "colloquies" with his constituents always gave him enjoyment.

The speech he delivered on this occasion was certainly not in the least suggestive of failing intellectual power or a weakening of his devotion to the national welfare. Starting with a reply to Mr. Long, who had sought to represent him as unworthy of the Premiership because in a speech at Edinburgh he had discussed local legislative, instead of colonial and foreign questions, Sir Henry identified the attack of his critic with the old Tory tactics of seeking to divert the attention of the nation from the subjects which most closely concerned the welfare of the people. Mr. Long and his friends, he said, "are still harping on the old string and are still imbued with the old spirit." About the time Sir Henry began his own political career, Mr. Bright, the eloquent Tribune of the people, delivered a speech in Edinburgh in which he earnestly commended home reforms to the earnest consideration of the new House of Commons. "You may have," he said, "an ancient monarchy with the dazzling glitter of the Sovereign; and you may have an ancient nobility with grand mansions and parks and great estates; and you may have an ecclesiastical hierarchy covering with worldly pomp that religion whose virtue is humility; but notwithstanding all this the whole fabric is rotten and doomed

ultimately to fall, for the great mass of the people, by whom it is supported, is poor and suffering and degraded.' In fullest agreement with this view of the most urgent duty of British statesmanship, Sir Henry enforced the doctrine that the surest way of imparting strength and vitality to the Empire was to work for the amelioration of the social and moral condition of the people. "Scour and polish as you like the outside of the cup and platter, what avails it to the strength of the Empire if you and your people at home are weakened and demoralised by the efforts to which I have referred [colonial wars and foreign adventures] These are the motives and these are the objects at least of the Bills of ours which they have managed somehow or other to prevent becoming Acts of Parliament;—the English Education Bill, our Land Values (Scotland) Bill, our Scottish Small Holders' Bill, yes, and our one man one vote Bill, which have all been summarily rejected or destroyed."

After noticing the conspicuous ability and success with which Sir Edward Grey conducted the affairs of the Foreign Office and utilised British influence for the promotion of international peace, amity, and arbitration, Sir Henry proceeded to speak of the conciliation of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony and of their amalgamation under the British Crown as one of the greatest triumphs in our colonial experience, caustically adding:—"Mr Long's methods are different. He first went to war with them and he spent 250 million pounds sterling in overcoming their resistance. Then when the war was ended—you will remember that there was a great deal of doubt as to the time when it did end—he offered a grudging half-hearted, suspicious partnership; and now he would

consolidate the Empire by setting all the States within it by the ears over tariffs.”

After a humorous reference to the various aliases of the Tory party and the substitution of Tariff Reform for Protection after the manner described in Matthew Prior's verse—

The merchant to secure his treasure,
 Conveys it in a borrowed name,
 Euphelia serves to grace my measure,
 But Chloe is my real flame—

Sir Henry passed on to deal with the controversy with the House of Lords and to explain the provisions of the Veto Bill. He commended the arrangement as one remarkably moderate and reasonable and as designed simply to safeguard the rights of the House of Commons as the representatives of the people. “The Second Chamber,” he remarked, “we are leaving with its truest functions unimpaired—advisory, corrective, and, if you like, dilatory, to gain time for full consideration. We leave the Lords with far more than the powers they ever exercised under a Conservative Government, with which they seemed to be perfectly satisfied. We give them a large opportunity for business-like consideration and for the use of the wisdom and experience which no doubt resides in many members of the House of Lords.” He held that his plan was modest and moderate compared with any reform of the House of Lords, which implied the supersession or modification of the hereditary element. He plainly indicated that the need for the more revolutionary plan was present in the mind of the Government, but for the moment, he said, with so many other urgent reforms in arrears, “the first thing we have to do, and that is what we are going

to do, is to put the relations of the two Houses on a business-like tone and statesman-like footing, and then we may see about the reform of the House of Lords."

Next, as a Scottish member, Sir Henry discussed the measures affecting Scottish land questions, and amid the encouraging cheers of his audience answered the criticisms and objections of the Tory opponents of the Government measures. At the close of his speech and of the heckling ordeal, through which as usual he triumphantly passed, a resolution was enthusiastically adopted congratulating him on the signal success which was attending his stewardship, assuring him of the continued confidence of his constituents and endorsing his policy with respect to the House of Lords, designed "to secure that the will of the people, as expressed through its chosen representatives, shall prevail." Mr. John Weir, the Secretary of the Miners' Association, in proposing this resolution, directed special attention to the unity and ability of the Cabinet Sir Henry had formed and made grateful acknowledgment of the selection for the first time of a working man representative for admission to the Cabinet.

In responding to the resolution the Prime Minister expressed his sense of the encouragement given to him by the affectionate sympathy and confidence of the people of Dunfermline. During his brief stay in the burgh on what proved to be his last visit he had many other assurances of warmest appreciation and loving devotion on the part of his constituents. At the reception given by Mr. and Mrs. (now Sir William and Lady) Robertson, he met in friendly intercourse many friends—a few veterans of his first electoral battles, but many more sons and daughters of parents whose memory he reverently cherished,—amongst

them a lady student from Oxford, who in her college parliament sat as member for the Stirling Burghs. The "colloquies" in the reception room were more personal and direct than those in the public meeting which he had just described as always pleasant to him, and as old family intimacies were recalled the affection of Member and constituents was visibly quickened. During the forenoon of the following day he made a round of visits, giving and getting particular pleasure in brotherly-like conferences with the old men who frequent Pittencrieff House, in which, with the Pittencrieff policies they have been, in common with their fellow citizens, "infected" as lairds through the generosity of Mr. Carnegie. Later in the day he met a company of the leading Liberals of the burgh at a luncheon provided by Sir William Robertson; and was visibly touched by a glowing tribute to his character and his services paid by Mr. Don, who, in concluding his eloquent panegyric, said—"Long life to Sir Henry! Higher honour he may not attain, having attained the highest. Greater reward there can be none for him than the consciousness of adding to the long series of services that stand to his name."

On the occasion of a similar festivity during a previous visit to Dunfermline, Sir Henry warmly commended practical interest in politics as an outlet for patriotic sentiment fitted to prove helpful to young men and to the State; and the large proportion of young men present in the St. Margaret's Hall meeting was fitted to encourage him in the belief that his inspiring words had borne fruit. On the occasion of the 1907 luncheon he seemed to feel that the filial-like interest shown in himself and in his work justified a lifting of the veil hiding the main-spring of his

efforts as a public servant. He had never, he said, made a parade of his religious convictions, but he confessed that he had lately been comforted and strengthened by the assurance of a good man whose guest he had been, that daily Christian men and women remembered him at the throne of grace. He attributed his position as Premier enjoying the confidence of the country and the support of an overwhelming majority in the Commons, not to say personal ability, but to the belief of all sections of the Liberal party in the honesty of his purpose, and to the support and prayers as he had been assured of millions of earnest pious men and women who are lovers of their country and of the righteousness by which alone it can be truly exalted.

Sir Henry bore the fatigues of the visit with its various engagements, which included an interview with a Trades Council deputation, without showing any sign of declining bodily vigour. His apparently healthy appearance was indeed the subject of general remark and of many personal congratulations. Thus Provost Macbeth in his introductory speech at the crowded meeting in St. Margaret's Hall described the Prime Minister as, after a year of most strenuous work, full of vigour of mind and body, and still fit and willing to serve their great nation. Mr. Weir's testimony at the close of the Premier's speech was that he had delivered an address full of instruction, full of vigour, and full of Liberal intention, and of "that vigour of youth that he displayed when he came amongst them thirty-nine years ago." Mr. Don at the luncheon meeting likewise proudly interpreted Sir Henry's "splendid intellectual and physical effort" on the previous night as justifying the prediction that for many years to come he would give useful service to the people who are clamouring for the solution

of questions in need of immediate consideration. One friend, however, experienced a sad and disquieting disillusionment. In a brief conference with the Prime Minister in the Reception Room, he remarked that when he first went to Glasgow Sir James Campbell was still a public man whose face and figure were familiar to him as a journalist, and that when Sir Henry had risen that evening to respond to the vote of thanks his appearance recalled that of his father, the aged ex-Lord Provost. "Ah," Sir Henry replied with a pathetic smile, "I know it. You are quite right. One of my sayings to my family friends when I do not feel well is 'I have seen father in the looking-glass this morning.'" And then in a lowered tone, as he gently waived aside remonstrances, he added, "I really do not feel very well."

Not many weeks after his Dunfermline visit, in the closing days of October, 1907, Sir Henry was overtaken by a serious illness at Bristol, precipitated and aggravated, it is believed, by an exceptional pressure of work incidental to the Lord Mayor's Day, increased by the claims of a visit by the Kaiser, followed by a large political meeting in the capital of Western England, at which the militant suffragettes caused him some annoyance. A brief holiday at Biarritz brought him a revival of strength and on his return to London he discussed with his colleagues the arrangements for the coming session. His loyal colleagues undertook to lighten his burden of duty as much as they could, or rather as he would permit, and he, feeling the need of husbanding his strength, yielded to their entreaties. He felt it necessary, however, to inaugurate personally the House of Commons campaign for its deliverance from the domination of the House of Lords:

and in February 13th he delivered a brief speech in proposing the resolutions which started the fight. No one who heard the speech imagined for a moment that his work was done. On the contrary his faithful followers in the Commons confidently assumed that his wise leadership in the strenuous and difficult struggle ahead of them was assured. They were grievously disappointed. All too soon they realised that his last speech had been delivered, and that as with Mr. Gladstone it had been a dying testimony against the claims of the hereditary Chamber to resist the will of the People's House. The severe heart affection by which the Prime Minister was disabled was followed by pneumonia, and in the few days which remained to him before he sank into unconsciousness in the belief that his wife had joined him, he arranged with Mr. Asquith the succession to the Premiership. On the 22nd of April he passed into his rest.



CHAPTER XVI.

"A DEPARTED FRIEND."

The object of the writer of the foregoing pages has not been to sketch the character and service of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman from the national standpoint. His attitude has been that of a constituent in sympathy with the views of electors in the Stirling Burghs who were from the beginning of his career attracted by the personal qualities of the Member, or who had found it easy and natural to accept the estimate transmitted by their parents. Confessedly, therefore, his tone has been friendly and partial. He has written in the spirit of an observer and narrator who is willing to bring into prominence the best features of his subject, rather than of the critic inclined to minimize and depreciate and to direct upon it the fierce light which blackens every blot. He claims to have known something of the influence exerted by Sir Henry among his colleagues at Westminster, as well as among his friends in Scotland among Departmental staffs, as well as among fellow counsellors in Cabinet; and, in justification of the high expectations early formed by the electors of the Stirling Burgh he has endeavoured to illustrate the growth of that influence until it inspired the devotion of the members of an exceptionally strong Cabinet, held firmly, yet without any apparent effort, the loyalty of the House of Commons, and without the slightest suggestion of arrogance dominated the political life of the country, alike as regards legislation, administration, and diplomatic action. He has refrained, however

from any attempt to investigate the personal conflicts and rivalries which distracted the Liberal party after the death of Mr. Gladstone, through which Sir Henry piloted his way to pre-eminence as a steadfast and generous friend of Liberal unity. Nor has he made any pretence to personal knowledge of the *arcana imperii*, which will doubtless be placed at the disposal of the official biographer when he proceeds with the responsible task of editing the late Premier's correspondence and papers, and describing his relations with friends, colleagues, and Sovereign. The present series of sketches will serve their purpose if they commend the spirit and methods of political stewardship which made Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman a model Member of Parliament, which secured for him in ever increasing measure the confidence and affection of a widely separated constituency, and which caused his death to be lamented in the constituency as that of a personal friend. On the day of his funeral, 27th April, 1908, a solemn service was conducted in Dunfermline Abbey Church in presence of a crowded and deeply affected assemblage of mourners.

(From the "Dunfermline Journal," April 23 1908.)

The "sullen bell" heard in Dunfermline on Wednesday forenoon proclaimed "unwelcome news." Hoping against hope the citizens had shown themselves fondly willing to believe that, relieved from the wearing anxieties of the Premiership, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman would shake off his trouble and be spared to them for a few years as their Burgh Member. The "one set slow bell" made them sadly conscious that their hope had been disappointed. Instinctively they obeyed its summons to "tread softly and

“speak low.” They knew it was “knolling a departing friend,” and the sadness of their hearts was unconsciously expressed in slackened movement and gentler accent. The universal grief created was akin to the sacred pang of sorrow that pierces the heart when personal or family love is tributed but chastened too by the loss of “the sweetest soul that ever looked with human eyes.”

For Sir Henry was of the Dunfermline family. He was rich in devoted friendships. His wedded life was a poem; his family relations were cherished as productive of the happiness that foreshadows the perfect felicity; in the political sphere the nobility of his character had mortified all animosities and made him the most loved man of his time. Yet in the midst of all the sanctities that guarded and the triumphs that gladdened his life, as in the sorrow which tried them, he kept a specially warm corner in his heart for Dunfermline. He knew it intimately for forty years. A long succession of its most prominent and honourable citizens were friends, trusted and trusting; as children and grandchildren grew into manhood and womanhood in the well-grounded belief that the Burgh Members cared for them for the sake of their parents as well as for their own sakes. He followed with close attention the various developments of municipal, educational, and religious life in the burgh—rejoicing in the gladness and sorrowing in the trials of his constituents, yet keeping himself free from entanglements in any form of civil strife. There was one who did not feel he was a true son of Dunfermline when he was invested with the Honorary Burgess-ship in 1903, and certainly his affection for the city and its citizens did not wane after his own citizenship had been formally and freely admitted. We are assured that during 1

tedious illness, while his physical strength was slowly ebbing away, he spoke frequently of his constituents with the warmest love, and that in his concern for the maintenance of the political testimony of the Burghs as a stronghold of Liberalism, he used his influence to induce Mr. William Robertson, as the most prominent and devoted of the upholders of the local faith, to undertake Parliamentary work as his successor. Above all party and personal preferences, however, stood out clear and strong his attachment to the several burghal communities forming the constituency, and an added sweetness was imparted to the Christian serenity with which he awaited his release approaching his grave—

*Like one that wraps the drapery of his couch,
Around him and lies down to pleasant dreams,*

by the assurances which reached him of the loving devotion of old friends and of the good-will of all classes in the Stirling Burghs.

The strength of this local attachment is the more remarkable and the more to be prized because of the many temptations offered to Sir Henry to plead the excuse of other engagements and responsibilities that promised him, and actually did give him, greater distinction. He was much more than a Burgh Member. He was a statesman who had a policy to defend ; and an administrator burdened with work of national and imperial moment, a leader of a party oppressed with claims for service from all parts of the United Kingdom ; a Minister who was servant of all, from the King upon the Throne. The duties of these various spheres and offices make exacting demands upon time and strength. Indeed, the burden may be described as over-

whelming, and the late Premier bore it manfully. Sir Henry however, never shirked his duties as Burgh Member. The faithful discharge he regarded in the light of a religious duty. And it was this same conscientiousness and devotion with kindly personal consideration displayed in the high office, that won for him universal esteem. He ever acted as one to whom courtesy was natural and benevolence supreme law of life. He never lost faith in the principles of Liberalism he adopted in his early youth, after a mental and moral struggle that cost him not a few pangs, for he loved and honoured his Conservative father, and to have accepted the family political creed would have been a delight to him if his conscience had permitted it. Whoever failed in times of stress and storm he never faltered, but figured as a "tower of strength which stood four square to all the winds that blew."

To him personal ambition was lost in party devotion and pure-hearted patriotism. His whole conduct was a rebuke to self-seekers. He kept himself free from intrigue and above all personal animosities. His honour was never sullied nor stained. The sanctity of his home life was his shelter and inspiration; and when his wife, the closest of his companions and wisest of his counsellors, was withdrawn from him, leaving him more exhausted than he would have himself think by his long loving vigils and nursing, a conscious of an irreparable gap, the inspiration of that refining and sacred association was to him as a vision of the Holy Grail. He worked and conquered as though he had the strength of ten—not, indeed, riding about like a knight errant, blindly seeking to redress all human wrong, but using the might of Britain for the promotion of international concord, strengthening the Empire by appeasing Colon

resentment, and cleansing the national life by the projection of healing measures of reform in harmony with the doctrine that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. Before his physical strength was exhausted and his life work done he had firmly established himself in the confidence and love of his Sovereign; he had grappled to his soul the various sections of the Liberal party at Westminster; he had made himself revered as a trusted friend by the champions of Labour and their followers; the Irish Nationalists paid him homage; and even the revilers and deriders of former days, who had represented him as an unpatriotic Little Englander and as a man of poor capacity, were shamed and silenced. And now at his death, all classes, high and low, in all parts of the world-wide British Empire and all nations feel they wrong themselves if they fail to do reverence to his memory. He passes from an earthly triumph, in some respects unprecedented, to the still higher and enduring triumph reserved for the pure and the good. *Post prœlia prœmia.* The lines inscribed on President Garfield's tomb might not inappropriately be sculptured on Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's—

Life's race well run,
 Life's work well done,
 Life's victory won,
 Now cometh rest.

THE RAINYS AND CAMPBELLS.

In Chapter I. reference is made to the intimacy of the Rainy and Campbell families in the early days of the future Principal and future Prime Minister. After thirty-five years or more of public service in different spheres

of life, in which they lost personal association with however, any diminution of affection, the distinguished sons of the two houses met on the same platform Edinburgh, when the Liberal leader, speaking not as a political partisan, but as a patriotic Scotsman and a no-minded statesman concerned for the highest welfare of country, suggested the appointment of an executive Commission for the extrication of the United Free Church of the confusion caused by the "unspeakable judgment of the House of Lords. The Liberal statesman, as gazed upon the ecclesiastical leader 10 years his senior must have been struck with his growing likeness to aged Dr. Harry Rainy, the Professor of Forensic Medicine in the University known to him in the days of his student life and early manhood, as the most revered of all citizens of Glasgow. They met on the same platform a time of great national concern and perplexity, and however, as beaten, dispirited men, but as courageous guides of their fellow countrymen, assured they were on the right side, never doubting that the clouds would break never dreaming that though right for the moment the worsted wrong would triumph.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND "C.B."

Mr. Chamberlain was never one of those who underestimated the abilities of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. At a time when the Tory Ministry of Mr. Balfour was tottering to its fall, there was some discussion in Mr. Chamberlain's presence as to who should be the next Liberal Prime Minister. "There can be no question about that," he said. "Campbell-Bannerman has kept the Liberal party together as no other man could have done."

and he is their only possible leader." And then he went on to pay a glowing tribute to the dogged way in which "C. B." had stuck to the ship in spite of the presence of a half-mutinous crew, and in face of unpopularity in the country.

LOVE OF HORSES.

R. W. J. told the following touching story of the late Prime Minister some years ago in the "St. Martin's-le-Grand Magazine,"—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was driving a friend in the neighbourhood of Belmont Castle, his Perthshire residence, and on nearing the end of the drive the friend remarked, "I wonder you don't keep a motor, Sir Henry." He (Sir Henry) was silent for a moment, but on pulling up he went to the horses' heads and began fondling them, they fondling him in return. On rejoining his friend he quietly remarked, "That's why I don't keep a motor." Sir Henry had a great big human heart and a better head than most people ever imagined or wotted of."

SECRET OF SCOTSMEN'S SUCCESS.

As illustrative of the foundation on which the character and work of Sir Henry rested, two extracts from his speeches are appended:—

"What an epic was the development of the Clyde! What were the Iliads, and the Odysseys, and the Æneids compared with it? There was nothing finer in history. Why do Scotsmen somehow manage to get into places of confidence and responsibility? It is because in their earliest days there was ground into their bone and fibre a certain feeling of the duty of doing something for their

neighbours, a recognition that there were higher things after all, than the acquisition of wealth or the mere enjoyment of life, and that they could do nothing, and hope do nothing, without the blessing of Almighty God."

THE SECURITY OF PEACE.

"It is vain to seek peace if you do not also ensue. I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world. I submit to you that as the principle of peaceful arbitration gains ground it becomes one of the highest tasks of a statesman to adjust the armaments to the newer and happier condition of things. What nobler role could this great country assume than at the fitting moment to place itself at the head of a league of peace, through whose instrumentality this great work could be effected? Is it not evident that a process simultaneously and progressive arming defeats its own purpose? Scare answers to scare, and force begets force, until at length it comes to be seen that we are racing one against another after a phantom security which continually vanishes as we approach."





Provost Mathieson.



Provost Reid.



Provost Walker.

